

The second
American
revolution

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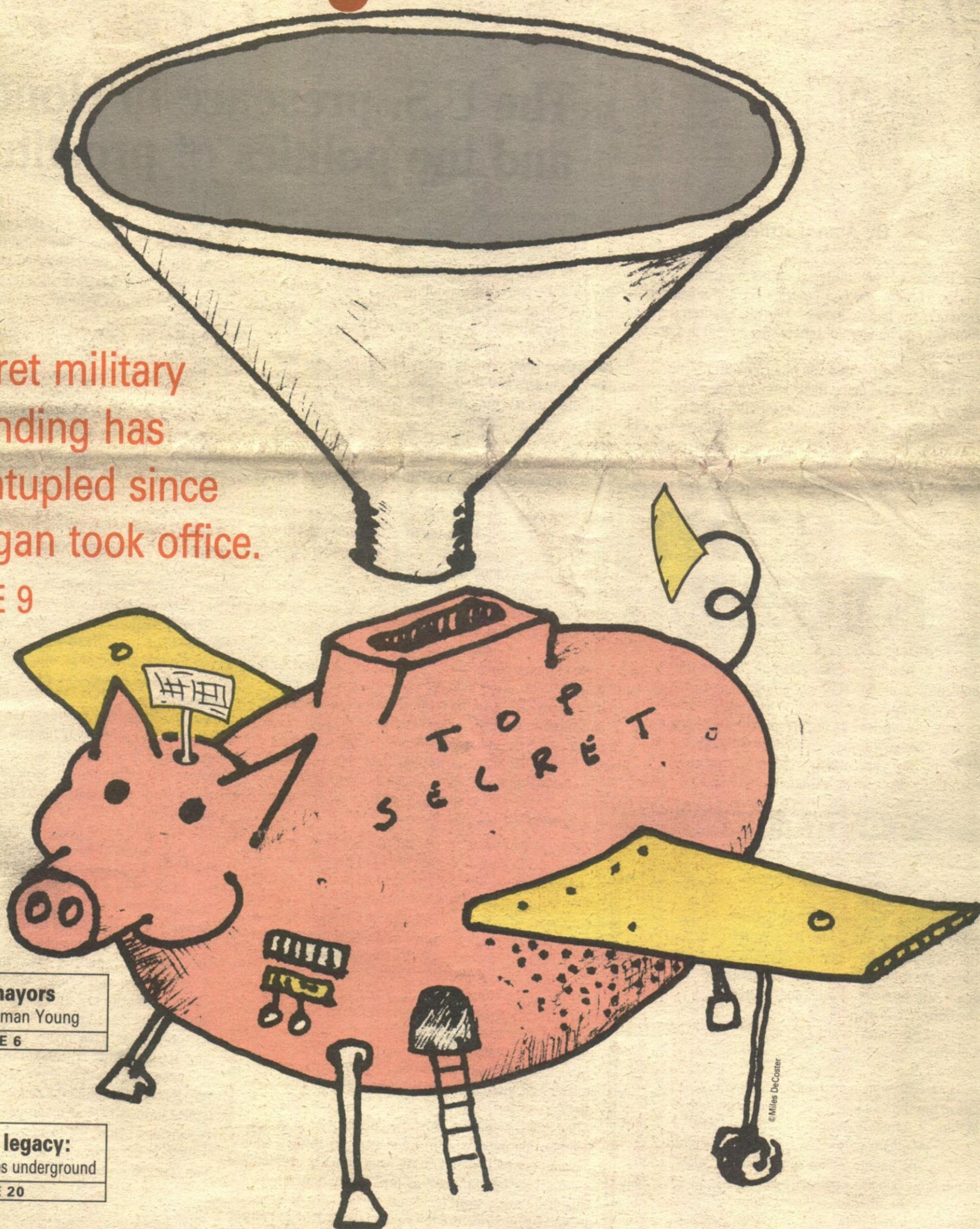
SEPTEMBER 16-22, 1987

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The Budget's Black Hole

Secret military
spending has
quintupled since
Reagan took office.

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Black mayors

Detroit's Coleman Young

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Reggae's legacy:

Political beat goes underground

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The U.S. presence in Honduras and the politics of prostitution

By Alan Gottlieb

COMAYAGUA, HONDURAS

The 18-year-old prostitute sat on her neatly made bed and wept. Three weeks had passed since Maria had seen a customer. She had no savings. Her two children were beginning to go hungry. And there was no end in sight to the business drought.

Maria and the estimated 200 other prostitutes in this town of 65,000 have made their living for the past five years off 1,200 U.S. soldiers stationed at the nearby Palmerola air base. Until recently, buses from the base brought the soldiers into town several nights each week. The bar and bordello businesses were booming.

INSIDE STORY

Critics of Honduras' close adherence to the Reagan administration's Central America policy say Comayagua is an apt metaphor for the nation as a whole—a nation that they say has lost its dignity, prostituting itself to the U.S. in exchange for massive military and economic aid. But, in this town at least, the economy of prostitution began being dismantled last month. On August 1 a new

U.S. commander took charge of the U.S. troops. And Col Charles Carlton moved immediately to change his soldiers' behavior.

"Quite simply, he felt it was highly improper for the troops to be patronizing whorehouses," said Charles Barclay, press attache at the U.S. Embassy in Tegucigalpa. "He said prostitution is illegal in the U.S., and he didn't want his men breaking any laws."

No other way: This is decidedly bad news for Maria, her co-workers and their bosses. Local bordello owners said they are so concerned they recently wrote to President Reagan asking him to order Carlton to let the troops resume their nocturnal visits. "We have had to dismiss several girls already, and will let more go if the soldiers don't come back soon," said Petronila Rodriguez, owner of a well-established "date house." "They have no other way to make a living, poor children."

But it isn't only prostitutes who are suffering. On August 7 a bomb exploded in a Chinese restaurant popular with soldiers, slightly wounding six U.S. troops and five Honduran civilians. Since the explosion, not a single soldier has been seen here. No one knows if or when they'll be back, and restaurant, bar and bordello owners are worried.

Honduran security police arrested half a dozen suspects in late August. They said the six were part of a leftist conspiracy. Three of the suspects were from the town and three from Tegucigalpa. Parents of one of the suspects, a 17-year-old boy, said their son was at home at the time of the blast and couldn't have been involved. But townspeople said they expect the suspects to be punished severely, to show U.S. military officials that Honduras is safe for GIs.

Perhaps because of the recent military crackdown, people in this town who are critical of the U.S. presence were hesitant to express their feelings to a foreign journalist. But people in Tegucigalpa said there are many in Comayagua who wish the soldiers would leave and not come back. Although the town as a whole doesn't depend on soldiers to survive, a healthy percentage of the business community is geared to North American tastes. Restaurants in the central plaza advertise in English, and their menus feature pizza, hamburgers and hot dogs.

Since U.S. soldiers came to stay four years ago, at least a dozen new restaurants have opened. Two new discotheques are within a two-minute walk of the town square. And there are 15 bordellos on the muddy back streets.

Because the soldiers liked the center of town, it has also become popular with "free-lance" prostitutes, who arrived here by bus on Fridays from all parts of Honduras, and used the central plaza as their base of operations. This upset many town residents, particularly Aide Agiluz de Mendez, chairman of the ruling Liberal Party's Central Committee in Comayagua. "Having prostitutes all over

the center of town will corrupt our children," said Agiluz. "These girls sell their bodies right next to the cathedral."

Agiluz said she would like to rid the town of all prostitutes, but realizes the established madames have too much political clout. "Realistically, the best I can hope for is to get the red light area relocated, out of the center of town." Like most town residents interviewed recently, Agiluz said she doesn't object to the presence of U.S. troops in the area. "They help keep exotic ideologies out of Honduras." But Agiluz said she wished the soldiers would behave "in a more dignified manner." She said business people liked having them around, but most town residents didn't like their negative influence. "The soldiers have a bad image here; a corrupt image. Mostly, they are nice boys, but they do things they shouldn't."

Good for business: The soldiers' biggest fan here, it would appear, is Maximiliano Maradiaga, Comayagua's mayor. A small, silver-haired man, Maradiaga spoke disparagingly of Honduras and Hondurans while effusively praising the U.S. "If tomorrow we didn't have your troops here, we'd be easy prisoners for the people who have entrapped Nicaragua and threaten to entrap the entire region," he said. "Honduras is a begger nation and we couldn't survive without you."

As for the spread of prostitution in his town, Maradiaga said he thinks it is good for business. "The bordello owners pay taxes regularly. The girls are subjected to frequent medical exams. You might say it's almost legal here."

But if Col. Carlton gets his way, the prostitution business will go bust in Comayagua. And 200 young women, many of them lured to the area by dreams of big money, will return home, most of them as penniless as when they arrived.

Maria, who has no family other than her young children, said she worries she will starve if the soldiers' visits stop. Three years ago she was shot in the throat by a jealous Honduran soldier. The bullet nicked her spinal column, causing permanent nerve damage to her right arm and leg. Honduran men, Maria said, don't like her anymore, because her leg is shriveled. "But they Americans, they don't care. They are very sweet to me, and they pay me in dollars," she said. "Please tell them to come back."

Honduran critics of the Reagan administration's Central America policy said they believe U.S. troops will never leave Honduras. This means, they said, that sooner or later Maria and her coworkers will be back in business.

"Those troops will be there forever, and they will get very lonely," said Roberto Zelaya, head of Honduras' largest university students' organization. "It will snow in Tegucigalpa before the troops are withdrawn. We'll be ice skating on the streets."

Alan Gottlieb is on assignment in Honduras.

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A nuclear pact looks likely on intermediate weapons

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

THE U.S. AND SOVIET UNION ARE NOW LIKELY to sign an Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) treaty—perhaps, when President Reagan meets Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov later this fall. If ratified, the treaty will eliminate Soviet and American intermediate-range nuclear weapons. While these weapons make up only a small portion of the American and Soviet nuclear arsenals, the treaty would nevertheless have a significant impact on both U.S.-Soviet relations and domestic politics.

The treaty would lessen the probability of a nuclear war by removing the 108 Pershing II missiles the U.S. has deployed in West Germany. Because of their proximity and accuracy, these missiles are capable of hitting Soviet command-and-control installations during a nuclear attack. If the threat of war loomed, the Soviet Union might be tempted to knock them out, while the U.S. would be tempted to launch them before they were destroyed.

The treaty would also establish a new plateau in Soviet-American relations, from which it might be possible to negotiate more wide-ranging agreements that included strategic weapons. And by signing a treaty with the Soviet Union, the Reagan administration would unwittingly undercut the kind of apocalyptic anti-communism that it has championed, a key premise of which was that Communists cannot be trusted at the negotiating table.

Global-double-zero: Successive developments this summer have made an agreement between the U.S. and Soviet Union likely. On July 22 Soviet leader Gorbachov accepted the American "global-double-zero" proposal for a total ban on intermediate weapons and for a ban on shorter-range (300-600 miles) as well as longer-range intermediate missiles. The Soviet agreement to a total ban removed an important roadblock.

Until July the Soviet Union had insisted on retaining 100 intermediate-range missiles in Asia. (The U.S. under this arrangement could station 100 missiles in Alaska.) But this meant that the U.S. and the Soviet Union would have to agree on the means of verifying that each side had deployed no more than 100 missiles. To the disquiet of some CIA as well as Soviet officials, the U.S. was proposing extremely intrusive verification measures that included around-the-clock on-site monitoring and surprise visits to missile sites, factories and other sensitive facilities.

The existence of the 100 missiles also meant that each side would be able to maintain the staff, facilities and spare parts to resume quickly higher levels of deployment if they decided to break out of the treaty.

By agreeing to eliminate intermediate missiles altogether, the Soviet Union made verification far simpler and removed fears of a quick breakout. On August 25 the U.S. responded to the Soviet concession with a plan for verification that eliminated round-the-clock inspections and limited the number of surprise inspections.

On August 26 West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl eliminated the last major obstacle to an agreement. He announced that if the U.S. and Soviet Union signed a treaty, West Germany would scrap the 72 Pershing IA intermediate missiles that it owns, and the U.S. indicated that it would scrap the American-owned nuclear warheads that go on these missiles.

According to Dunbar Lockwood of the Center for Defense Information, three remaining issues must be settled. The U.S. and Soviet Union still have to agree on what facilities to open to on-site inspection. The two sides must also agree on a schedule for dismantling the missiles. (The Soviet Union wants annual percentage reductions, while the U.S. wants the Soviet Union to eliminate first its numerical advantage over the U.S.) And both must agree on whether the West German promise to scrap its Pershing missiles will be included in the treaty. (The U.S. insists that the treaty is bilateral, while the Soviet Union says the missiles really belong to the U.S.)

If both sides want an agreement, these issues can be settled easily. But if either side wants to back out, any of them could furnish them with a pretext to do so.

Amendments and reservations: If a treaty is signed, it still has to be ratified by a two-thirds majority of the Senate, which has not ratified an arms treaty since the 1972 SALT treaty. The principal opposition to this one is expected to come from conservatives rather than liberals. Out of residual loyalty to Reagan and fear of public opinion, the conservatives will not try directly to defeat the treaty but will try to attach "amendments" or "reservations" to it. If these bear directly on the treaty's terms, the Soviet Union will have to accept them for it to take effect.

There are two types of conservative opposition to the treaty: a right-wing opposition and what might be termed conservative

geopolitical opposition. The hard right, led by presidential candidate Rep. Jack Kemp (R-NY) and Senators Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Dan Quayle (R-IN), basically oppose any agreement with the Soviet Union. Kemp has called the treaty "a nuclear Munich that could imperil NATO's future."

The hard right is focusing on whether the treaty is verifiable. "We don't think it is possible to verify the existence of small missiles," says the Heritage Foundation's Jim Hackett. "We don't think this treaty is verifiable, period."

If the treaty comes to the Senate, Hackett and other conservatives will support an amendment that is being prepared by Quayle's staff. The amendment would accelerate the deployment of tactical ballistic missiles, remove certain kinds of Cruise missiles from the treaty's purview and stipulate that the treaty's means of verification not set a precedent for other arms agreements.

The conservative geopolitical opposition, led by former President Richard Nixon and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, is more sophisticated. Both have argued that the real purpose of the American deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe was not to counter the Soviet SS-20s, but rather to preserve the credibility of a West European nuclear response to a conventional Soviet attack. Without American missiles in Europe, West European and Soviet leaders would have to assume American willingness to precipitate a global holocaust in response to a Soviet invasion of Europe.

This argument has history on its side. The threat of SS-20s was largely introduced to convince the public of the need to deploy missiles. The deeper rationalization was to prevent Western Europe from being "decoupled" from American nuclear deterrence.

Nixon and Kissinger, recently retired NATO Commander Bernard Rogers, Ret. Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Rep. Les Aspin and others have argued that an INF agreement must be supplemented by a NATO commitment to achieving equality in conventional arms with the Warsaw Pact powers, whether through a military buildup or through negotiated reductions. They argue that NATO's conventional forces can then provide a deterrent to Soviet invasion.

Nixon and Kissinger have proposed that the INF agreement include a commitment to negotiating conventional arms reductions. And conservatives in the Senate might try attaching such an amendment to the treaty. Last spring Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, proposed that the INF treaty include an "escape clause" that would allow the U.S. to abrogate the treaty if the Soviet Union continued to maintain its edge in conventional arms.

INF and ABM: Peace movement lobbyists in Washington are in the unfamiliar position of backing a treaty worked out by the Reagan administration. At a May 19 meeting, representatives of SANE/Freeze, Physicians for Social Responsibility and several other groups shocked officials from the White House and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency when they suggested working together to get the treaty ratified.

Enthusiasm for it is widespread. John Isaacs, the legislative director of the Council for a Livable World, says he has no misgiv-

Enthusiasm for a pact is widespread. Principal opposition comes from conservatives rather than liberals.

ings about it. "I'll support anything that gets rid of some dangerous weapons. And we can build on it with a new administration in 1989." The slogan adopted by SANE/Freeze toward the treaty is "Don't stop now."

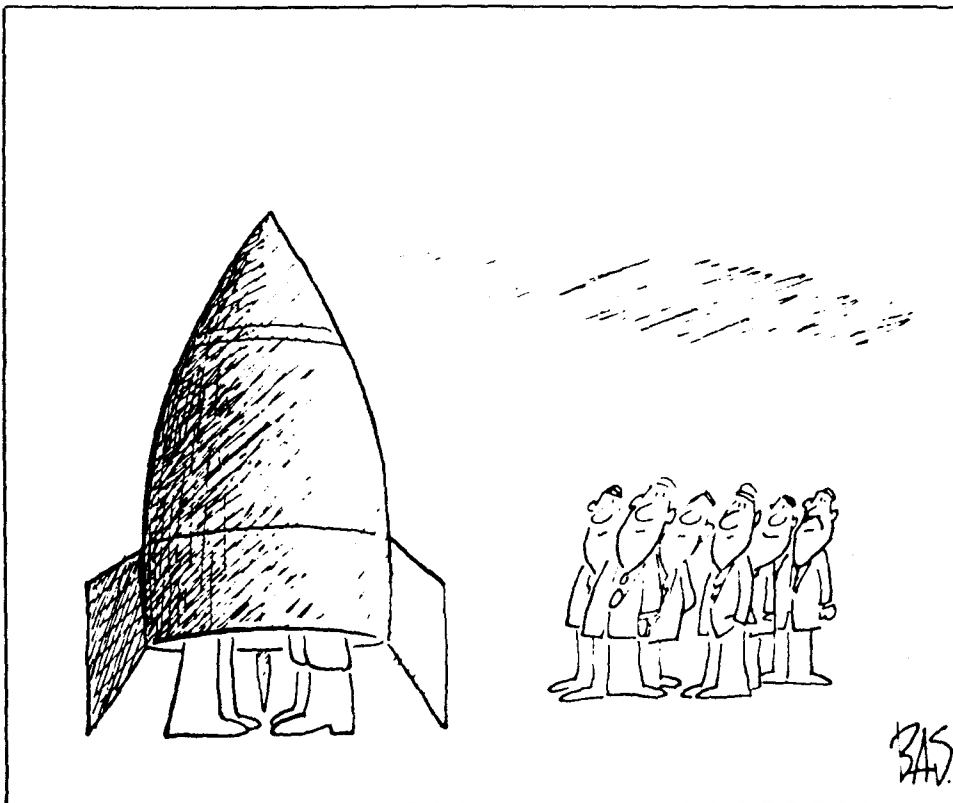
To the surprise and delight of peace lobbyists, however, Nunn has outflanked them on the left. In a September 1 letter to the president Nunn threatened to hold the treaty hostage if the administration did not abandon its "broad" interpretation of the 1972 ABM treaty. According to this interpretation testing of Star Wars systems is permitted under the treaty.

The administration has based its reinterpretation of the ABM treaty not on its actual language nor on public statements of Soviet and American officials but on what the administration claims is contained in its negotiating record, which remains classified. Nunn wrote that if the administration continues to adhere to this mode of interpreting the ABM treaty he will not be able to evaluate the INF treaty without seeing its secret negotiating record.

"Since the negotiating record would be the focus of the Senate ratification debate," Nunn wrote, "I also see no alternative to appropriate declassification and public access."

He insinuated that the review of the six-year record could greatly delay treaty consideration. "The Senate will have to review the negotiating record very carefully, and that will obviously be time-consuming."

Nunn does not really want the administration to make its negotiating record public, but he does want it to withdraw its specious reinterpretation of the ABM treaty. Nunn has done precisely what Gorbachov would have liked to do. Nunn's ploy not only dramatizes the administration's continuing recalcitrance on the larger strategic issues, but it also provides Senate liberals with the means of countering hard-right attempts to cripple the treaty.



ROTHCO

Joel Bleifuss

THE NEW YORKER

Lincoln, and that's why many rightist intellects to be found on the right have been so taken with an 1,100-page novel about Abraham Lincoln. "I've read it," he explained to *Newsweek* in 1984. "Lincoln knew how to do it. When he worked in the White House, he said, 'The world isn't full of the works of Lincoln,'" said Clinton. "To me, the best way to go for clacking down on dissent, suppressing dissent, and silencing others and all those kind of things, and we would like to do that to soothe our own consciences, looked like Abraham Lincoln was considerably greater in Lincoln's case in dealing with dissent than in Nixon's case of having a bunch of rotors spinning in the White House and staging dramatic events. But the principle is the same—that you have to balance the need for individual freedom with the need for national security. The Carter had had second thoughts on how far a government should go in making itself secure, especially since discovering that the British administration was tapping his phone."

At 64, Clinton is a man of a certain turning to the Reagan administration. When he was testifying the Iran-contra hearings it was not that long ago that he had read about Lincoln's suppression of dissent during the Civil War, and consequently about the ways in which precedent-setting examples of presidential behavior had been turned into their own ends.

The resulting waste chute

[illegible]

THE KIDS: THE GOOD AND THE VICE

But in this column, the Orlando Sentinel has insulted Pope John Paul II. The article, dated October 19 and columnist Bob Morris, Morrie, says that the pope would be making a guest appearance on the "Don Johnson Show" as "a simple holy man who gets dressed in his white cassock and those baggy vestments." Morris also says that the pope would marry Don Johnson and his wife, Linda. In the October 19 issue of the *Florida Catholic*, "I find it extremely offensive to the person of the \$11 million she is seeking," says a spokesman for the pope, "myself and all other 'ordinary Catho-

Information

The U.S. delegation's press and delegation made front-page news in the Soviet press. The Soviet Union's secret radar station at Khamovniki, Moscow, had opened up the site to counter-visit by the U.S. delegation, that the installation violated the 1972 U.S.-U.S.S.R. SALT II treaty. Accompanying the U.S. delegation was the chief of mission from the New York-based National Security Council, who helped organize the visit to the U.S.S.R. in connection with the U.S.S.R.'s arms-control verification program. The visit was reported by Jonathan Evan Maslow.

Americanization of the Western European soul

Vermont journalist Reto Pieth visited his native Switzerland this summer and filed this report.

Western Europe is becoming increasingly Americanized. This transformation is seen nowhere more clearly than in the use of American English in everyday commercial language.

In Switzerland you need not know any of the four national languages in order to understand product names, advertising slogans and business mottoes. Most of these phrases are in English.

When Switzerland's largest department store chain, Migros, launches a new product, it habitually gives it an English name. Asked why his corporation did so, a Migros executive said products with English names simply sold better than products with German or Swiss-German names (the language spoken by two-thirds of the Swiss population). This is also true for Germany and the Benelux countries. Product names are often in English, even when it would be possible to name the new product in the native language. It seems that despite the political disagreements that Western Europeans have with U.S. policies, America—the "*Land der unbergrenzten Träume*" (land

Socialist mayor takes on hospital industry

The nation's only socialist mayor, Burlington, Vermont's Bernard Sanders, is battling the state's largest hospital in a court case that could affect the health-care industry nationwide.

At issue is whether the Medical Center Hospital of Vermont (MCHV) can convince the courts that the hospital is a "charitable" institution. The fight began last April, when for the first time in the hospital's nearly 100-year history it received a property tax bill from the city of Burlington.

MCHV says that if the tax is imposed, the average cost of patient care would increase by \$300. But Assistant City Attorney John Franco argues that the \$2.8 million tax is "just a drop in the bucket" in MCHV's projected \$5 million profit for next year. "The argument that the hospital will have to increase patient costs because of the tax is just absurd," Franco says. "They could pay the tax and still have a profit."

In June, MCHV sought an injunction to prevent the city from collecting the tax. Instead it got the promise of a speedy trial. The Chittenden County Superior Court is expected to rule on the case this month. Both sides have promised to take the case to the Vermont Supreme Court.

of unlimited dreams)—casts a spell that can be harnessed to sell products.

In advertising American English is almost like a second national language in Western Europe. It is not unusual to see an advertising slogan entirely in English. And looking at the help-wanted ads in Switzerland and Germany, the positions listed are often in English. "Product manager," "group product manager," "art director," "marketing assistant," "EDP-coordinator," to name a few. Other English terms like "human factor," or "software" or "highlights" abound. Businesses and their advertising departments have also started to create hybrid languages, combining English and German terms or creating German versions out of English names. For instance, ads talked of sales jobs in "*Nonfoodbereiche*" (nonfood departments) or positions in "*Rechnungswesen/Controlling*" (accounting and controlling).

The American English invasion of Western Europe is partly a reflection of the predominance of American technology (such as computers, which created new terms like "hardware" and "software" and new positions whose names are often not translatable into other languages.) But it is also that American business practices are conquering many parts of the world. For example, the current craze in Western Europe to make public radio and television stations pri-

vate or to establish new local, commercial stations was inspired by U.S. broadcasting practices.

And American corporate style, as developed by prestigious U.S. business schools, is likewise taking over. Erstwhile stodgy and traditional Western European corporations have been transformed into go-getting, visible, publicity-minded firms where the bottom line, market share and continuous growth are the corporate creed.

Advertising, marketing, direct mailing, give-aways, public relations and business hooplas are commonplace. Venerable art museums have started to court corporate sponsors, as have equally venerable symphony orchestras. Such sponsorships have further Americanized Western Europe. Where once business and the corporate world were discreet, they have now become visible, determining the pulse of life and the thinking of many people.

Reacting to this American influence, the French government has directed public institutions to use certain French words in place of their English counterparts—such as “*commission de chef de file*” for management fee. There is nothing wrong with curtailing the use of English when counterparts in the native language can be readily found. But does that address the deeper problem—the Americanization of the European soul?

–Reto Pieth

"What gives this case national importance is that the Medical Center Hospital of Vermont is not unusual," Sanders says. He adds that if hospitals are run like businesses, they should be treated as such.

The hospital claims to be a charitable institution that last year provided \$1.5 million, or 1.4 percent of its patient services, in free care. Hospital spokeswoman Andrea O'Connor says MCHV has "no strict guidelines" for distributing charity care because the hospital "just doesn't want anyone to slip through the cracks."

But when the case came to court, MCHV was unable to provide any records of its charitable services. The judge therefore ruled there was no evidence of free health care at MCHV.

Attorney Franco says, "There was a lot of reason to believe they had padded the numbers and that a lot of the so-called free care was bad debt."

Vermont law defines a charitable institution as one whose income is derived "mainly from public charity." Of MCHV's \$113 million 1986 budget, \$300,000 came from donations.

According to MCHV's annual reports, up until World War II the hospital was supported primarily by donations. But with the expansion of health insurance, including Medicare and Medicaid, MCHV's revenues increasingly came from in-

insurance companies and the state and federal governments.

"This hospital, along with most hospitals, evolved from a place of charity to a place of business," Franco says. "Now there is more money lost in taxes than in free care claimed provided."

While MCHV says that all profits are rolled into the next year's budget to "reduce patient costs," the city claims that MCHV's profit margin is tied directly to the salaries of the hospital's executive officers. MCHV has refused to publicize the administrative salaries saying it would be detrimental to MCHV's opposition to an effort to unionize hospital staff.

But MCHV did turn salary records over to the court. Franco says that in 1986, salaries of MCHV's president and top administrators increased by 25 percent, while staff salaries rose 5 percent.

Beyond the struggle over property taxes, Sanders says the central issue in the case is a hospital's relationship to the community it serves. "Right now," he says, "the medical center functions like a private country club." The board of trustees is made up of what he calls "the local elite making decisions behind closed doors." Ideally, says Sanders, the case should force MCHV to establish policies that meet the needs of the people of Burlington.

–Maggie Garb



Losing legs to stop arms: Brian Willson is embraced by friend Duncan Murphy after being run over on September 1 by a train that had pulled out of Northern California's Concord Naval Weapons Station. Both of Willson's legs were severed below the knees. The U.S. government has since begun trucking out its Central America-bound arms. On September 9, 10 protesters were arrested for blocking the trucks. That same day, Willson, recovering at John Muir Hospital in Walnut Creek, took his first steps on his new artificial feet.

Lawyers argue that nuclear war is illegal

With the possible exception of a few die-hards in the White House and in the Kremlin, most people agree that nuclear war would not only be a social and economic disaster, but that it is immoral as well. The Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy, a New York-based organization founded in 1981, has another argument against nuclear war: It's against the law.

This view is based on the decisions of the Nuremberg tribunal and on a careful reading of international treaties, including the Hague Conventions of 1907 and the Geneva Conventions of 1949. Together, these declarations prohibit acts of war that target civilians, violate the neutrality of non-participating states or cause cruel and unnecessary suffering.

Any nuclear exchange would violate all of these principles, says Alex Miller, the Lawyers Committee executive director, and would therefore be "illegal" under international law.

This was the theme of last month's three-day conference in

New York City on "Nuclear Weapons and International Law." The conference, co-sponsored by the Lawyers Committee and the Association of Soviet Lawyers (the Soviet equivalent of the American Bar Association), was the first time that American and Soviet attorneys have addressed the legal questions surrounding nuclear warfare and weaponry.

More than 200 lawyers and legal experts from 15 countries participated. Speakers included Paul Warnke, the chief negotiator of the SALT II treaty; Sean McBride, a Nobel Peace Prize winner from Ireland; and Richard Falk, professor of international law at Princeton University.

Falk pointed out that the aim of the conference was not only to argue that nuclear war is illegal but also to help "create a climate of censure" that would make the use of nuclear weapons politically impossible for any government.

Owen Davies, an attorney from London and a founding member of England's Lawyers for Nuclear Disarmament, called for increased public education. If the illegality of nuclear war was widely accepted, he said, governments would find it more and more difficult to pro-

cute anti-nuclear acts of civil disobedience.

Several participants called attention to the case of Mordechai Vanunu, whose trial in Israel began the day before the conference ended. Vanunu worked at Kirya Mahakar Garin, a nuclear power plant and research station in the Negev. Last September, while in London, he gave information to the *Sunday Times* that Israel has secretly built between 100 and 200 atomic weapons. After making his way to Italy he was kidnapped by Mossad agents and taken to Israel to stand trial for espionage, treason and the passing of state secrets at a time of war. If convicted, he could receive the death penalty.

According to Falk, who has been called as a witness for Vanunu, the defense's case will rely heavily on the Nuremberg judgments that state that individuals have the duty and obligation to resist immoral acts carried out by their governments. Vanunu will also argue that Israel's security is weakened, not enhanced, by the production of nuclear weapons. Both of these tactics, particularly the citing of the Nuremberg verdicts, are sure to raise controversy.

Ken Silverstein

Nicaragua's bourgeois leadership

The Reagan administration likes to give the impression that, while in exile, the leaders of Nicaragua's middle class are aggressively supporting the contra cause. And the mainstream press seems ever eager to tout this claim. But a recent report by Georgetown University's Central American Historical Institute sets the record straight. The institute examines the current activities of the Group of Twelve—prominent business, academic, religious and professional men who joined in 1977 to oppose Somoza. In 1978 and 1979 the Twelve went into exile and began to speak out against the Somoza regime. "The Twelve," says the report, "insisted on Sandinista participation in any political solution to the crisis and were instrumental in winning over a large part of the middle class, and some of the wealthy, to the ranks of the revolution." None of the Twelve now support the contras, although Group of Twelve member Arturo Cruz is a former contra leader. Most are working with the Sandinista government. For example, Enrique Baltodano, a large coffee producer under Somoza, now monitors Nicaragua's money supply as comptroller general. Cattle baron Ricardo Coronel is a vice-minister of agricultural development, supervising livestock-raising programs. And Joaquin Cuadra, a wealthy investment lawyer during the Somoza years, is president of the Central Bank and currently is renegotiating Nicaragua's foreign debt.

Carcinogens in the Reagan years

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) regulates only 53 of the 144 chemicals the National Toxicology Program, a federal agency, lists as carcinogenic, according to a report by the congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA). And of those 53 chemical carcinogens, OSHA has issued final health standards on only 16. The OTA report, which is scheduled to be released next month, says that between 1971 and 1980 OSHA issued eight final health standards. Yet between 1981 and 1986 (the Reagan years) OSHA issued only two standards and one of those was court-ordered. The report will also point out that between 1971 and 1980 the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (a part of the Centers for Disease Control) recommended regulating 77 carcinogens, as opposed to 17 during the Reagan years.

DETROIT



Coleman Young "has been a power for so long his method of governing is no longer questioned," said journalist Patricia Edmonds.

Young tries to restore order to a city sliding out of control

By Salim Muwakkil

DETROIT

MAYOR COLEMAN ALEXANDER YOUNG rose to power in 1973 on a movement fueled by anger about police brutality. The deaths of 21 black men killed in shootouts with city police in the two years prior to Young's election that year infuriated a lot of people. And black Detroiters, whose civil liberties were routinely violated by a racist police department, had become fed up with the status quo. Young promised he would change the situation if elected, and he delivered.

But nearly 14 years after he first took office, the 69-year-old mayor is blithely planning to violate the civil liberties he once campaigned so ardently to protect. This is not a mere case of a former radical changing his spots, but a desperate attempt to restore order in a city sliding out of control. Coleman Young presides over a city whose youth are engaged in an orgy of self-destruction. Detroit's teenagers are shooting each other with such deadly frequency the mayor has been forced to propose increasingly draconian methods to stop the carnage. In 1986 more than 360 young people under 17 years of age were shot, and dozens were killed. The rate has accelerated in 1987; murders are up 12 percent. During the recent Labor Day weekend, 14 teenagers were shot. Two died.

Earlier in the year a series of shootings in

the city's schools—including the brazen murder of a popular football star—caused city officials to close the facilities for two days. Although unprecedented, that action was one of the milder steps city leaders were prepared to take. In recent speeches, Young has announced he will begin authorizing random weapons searches in some of the city's more troubled schools. That tack has been criticized bitterly by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) as a dangerous abridgment of students' rights. But there are reports that Young is contemplating even more drastic action.

"Some [of his advisers] told the mayor that the situation was so serious he might have to pack off thousands of Detroit young people to detention camps before the city could break the cycle of deadly violence," said Remer Tyson, a political writer for the *Detroit Free Press*. Such police-state tactics don't come easily to a man whose entire adult life was spent fighting those tactics while demanding economic and social justice for African-Americans. However, Young's dilemma is typical of that faced by many black mayors who became the establishment by first opposing it. For Young, who was so fervently anti-establishment, the dilemma is particularly poignant.

A home-grown folk hero: Young was five, in 1923, when he and his family arrived in the city from Tuscaloosa, Ala. As the eldest child he shouldered a lot of responsibility

and encountered the general run of racist treatment. His father, William Coleman Young, was not one to suffer racism quietly, however, and the young Coleman was indelibly influenced by that spirit of resistance. By the time Young was elected to his first mayoral term in 1973 he long had been a folk hero in black Detroit. He became well-known as an outspoken and radical union leader, and was later elected to three terms in the state senate, where he served as majority floor leader.

Young initially gained fame in 1952, when the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) came to Detroit to question him about Communist influence in the labor movement. He previously had been an organizer with the left-wing faction of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and, at the time of his HUAC appearance he was a force in the newly formed National Negro Labor Council. His defiant performance before the committee, in which he challenged HUAC's credibility and got in some verbal licks of his own, made him a hero not just in Detroit but in black communities across the country.

Young paid a steep price for that bravado. The FBI and the UAW both made sure that his unemployment was chronic. He was blacklisted effectively during most of the '50s and worked on a succession of low-paying odd jobs. The constant harassment and lack of resources left his personal life in shambles. His first wife eventually divorced him.

In the late '50s things began looking up. He was elected as a delegate to the state Constitutional Convention and became enamored with electoral politics. The first of his terms as a state senator began in 1964, and he never lost another election.

Walking on water: Millie Taylor, an elderly black woman, was fishing in the Detroit River just north of Hart Plaza on a recent afternoon when she reeled in a small silver bass. While unhooking her catch she explained that fish have only recently returned to the once-polluted waterway, and she inadvertently revealed why Young is considered politically invulnerable. "Fishing's not as good as it used to be way back when," Taylor said, "but it's a hell of a lot better than it was before Mayor Young came on the scene."

Of course, Young can claim little responsibility for the river's growing fish population—the environmental policies of Windsor, Ontario, the Canadian province that shares the river with Detroit, are primarily responsible—but Taylor credits the mayor's reign for her good luck. Most of the city's African-Americans share Taylor's high, and sometimes irrational, regard for their feisty mayor.

Detroit's population of nearly 1.1 million is about 65 percent black. The most recent poll places the mayor's overall approval rating at 64 percent; among blacks it's 74 percent. Although he's the longest serving mayor in the city's history, his popularity remains as high as it was during his earlier terms.

"Black people are extremely proud of Young," explained Velma Brown, a writer for the black-owned *Michigan Chronicle*, a city weekly. "They trust his intentions and his dedication to their interests, so he gets the benefit of doubt no matter what kind of action he takes." That sense of racial allegiance fits the pattern found in most large cities with black mayors. Thus, someone like

Philadelphia's W. Wilson Goode can authorize police to drop a bomb on a black neighborhood and still enjoy overwhelming support from his black constituents. Washington, D.C.'s Marion Barry can run on his scandal-plagued record and be returned to office with a resounding victory.

Of the mayors elected to big cities with predominantly black populations, only Gary's Richard Hatcher and Newark's Kenneth Gibson have been rejected by black voters. But even in those cases, it took a while. Hatcher had a 20-year tenure and Gibson hung on for 16 years. Young has the third-longest reign and most pundits contend he

BLACK MAYORS

could be mayor for life if he so chooses. As far as most of Detroit's blacks are concerned, said William Beckam, Young's former deputy mayor, "the mayor is like Jesus Christ. He can damn near walk on water."

Genuine accomplishments: Patricia Edmonds, a writer for the *Detroit Free Press*, who's earned several awards for her reporting on Young, said whites take a more critical view of the mayor. The poll cited earlier places Young approval rating among whites at 45 percent. While Young is respected as a skilled politician with formidable clout, Edmonds noted, he's also the focus of criticism, most of which centers on his lack of administrative skills and his autocratic management style.

"Over the 13-plus years he has run the city, Young's personal political habits and opinions have been elevated to the status of gospel," Edmonds wrote in an exhaustive profile of the mayor published in April of this year. "That dominance lets Young operate smoothly and with little dissent. But some say it also threatens to turn one man's traits into pitfalls for an entire city." Many whites also express displeasure with Young's personal style; arrogant is the word frequently used to describe him.

Edmonds, who is bureau chief of the paper's city-county bureau—Detroit is the seat of Wayne County—said the mayor is a hard worker who's totally consumed by his job. "His strong sense of self-confidence sometimes comes across as arrogance, and to some extent he is a bit arrogant. But he is also absolutely single-minded in his dedi-

cation to Detroit," she said. "It's just that he's been a power for so long, his method of governing is no longer questioned."

She listed several accomplishments Young can claim:

- The renovation and revitalization of the downtown riverfront.

- The completion of Joe Louis Arena in time to host the 1980 Republican Convention and keep the Detroit Red Wings hockey team downtown, after the Lions and Pistons moved to Pontiac. The city also bought and renovated Tiger Stadium.

- The police department has been integrated to a proportion much closer to the city's racial composition, and police brutality is rarely charged.

- The mayor averted financial disaster during the recession of 1982 by raising the taxes of residents and commuters while gaining wage concessions from city employees.

- Young won legislative approval for higher liquor and hotel taxes to finance a \$180 million expansion of Cobo Hall that will make it the country's seventh largest convention center.

- The city completed the \$4 million renovation of the Washington Boulevard pedestrian mall.

- An ultramodern monorail system, called the People Mover, was completed last month.

- A badly needed trash-to-energy incinerator is under construction.

There are also less tangible benefits of Young's tenure. "The mayor has given black youths a very positive role model and instilled a tremendous amount of pride in Detroit's black communities," said Hasan Kareem, a long-time community organizer. "I see the effects of that every day when I talk to them."

Random criticisms: But those intangibles apparently have failed to deter black teenagers from wreaking civic havoc. "All this talk about black role models and black pride is coming from the adults," said Horace Golden, a black businessman located in the city's depressed downtown area. "Obviously, these kids don't feel any black pride, or they wouldn't be shooting and killing each other in record numbers."

Some blacks criticize the mayor for concentrating too much on downtown revitalization and ignoring inner-city neighborhoods. Such criticism illuminates another problem that inordinantly affects black mayors, who, though starved of resources, must create a sense of vitality and stability in the commercial community, while servicing the needs of a community that has been

under-served historically and with whom they share a special bond.

"That damn People Mover just goes around and around in a three-mile circle," said Teddy Brooks, a life-long Detroit resident. "All it does is keep people who are doing business with the downtown bigshots from having to step foot in the actual city of Detroit." Brooks certainly is not alone in that view. The People Mover has come under intense criticism from all segments of the population.

The system was constructed at a cost of \$200.3 million—about \$75 million over budget—80 percent of which was federal money. It was initially designed as part of a larger transportation plan, including a city-wide subway system, during the heady days of the Carter administration. But the budget-cutting Reaganites who followed would have no part of the subway, leaving the city with a 2.9-mile monorail and a transportation system that is grossly unbalanced.

Similar criticism greeted the construction of the Oz-like Renaissance Center complex, which was completed during the mayor's first term. Financed primarily by Henry Ford II, the \$337 million development was widely heralded as evidence that big money wasn't leaving Detroit. And some people also praised Young for his part in the deal.

"In an era when the city's steady decline has been apparent to anyone who could do simple arithmetic, Young said, 'Let there be hope'—and suddenly there was," wrote Kirk Cheyfitz in a January 1981 article in *Monthly Detroit*, a city magazine. "Part of the magic was Young's determination to keep the psychology of progress going..." and the underlying "perception of Young's tight political partnership with Jimmy Carter."

"Young and his aides, under the Carter administration, were insiders in the high-stakes game of writing national policy," he wrote. "They were able to mold policy from the outset to help Detroit and cities like Detroit." He quoted one member of Carter's staff as saying, "It's safe to say that Coleman has gotten every last drop of money that could be squeezed out of the government for Detroit."

But not everyone applauded the Renaissance Center. Its gleaming, cylindrical towers seemed so incongruous with the surrounding architecture, and its spirit so out of sync with the gloom of those recession years, that the complex was the butt of numerous jokes as well as an object of wonder. Similar buildings have since sprung up around the center, and the complex—which is essentially an urban shopping mall—looks less like a fairy castle amid the rubble of a dying city. Still, according to recent estimates, the center has failed to attract sufficient consumer traffic and dozens of retailers have exited. In a city still counting lost revenue from an event that occurred two decades earlier, however, any added commercial activity is listed as an improvement.

The riot anniversary: Sparked by charges of police brutality, Detroit exploded on July 23, 1967, into two weeks of civil anarchy. By the time the action was over, 43 people were killed and 2,000 injured, more than 5,000 Detroiters were homeless, 1,300 buildings were destroyed and nearly 3,000 businesses were looted. The city still has not recovered from that deadly paroxysm. Large areas remain gutted.

The 20th anniversary of the disturbances occasioned a look back by much of the media, and most accounts stressed the city's lack of progress since those dark days. The

Urban Affairs Programs at Michigan State University published a report titled *The State of Black Michigan: 1987* that focused on the condition of the state's black population in the years following the riot. In general the study found that the social and economic inequalities that existed between blacks and whites in 1967 remain today. The report's major findings include:

- Although blacks have made some small gains in white-collar occupations, black representation in management and on boards of Michigan-based corporations remains extremely low.

- The black unemployment rate continues to increase, widening the gap between blacks and whites.

- The health status of blacks has fallen, while for whites it has continued to rise.

- Black student enrollment in Michigan institutions of higher education has been declining since 1976.

- Black ownership of business franchises is limited.

The study further found that the economic status of blacks as measured by occupational representation improved between 1966 and 1975, but generally worsened between 1975 and 1984. The growth of jobs in the current recovery has been primarily in non-black areas of the state.

Despite those statistics, many of Detroit's blacks see 1987 as a giant step away from the days of 1967. "There's no comparison between then and now," said Calvin Simms, a 40-year-old hotel executive. "White police could attack black people at will. And I should know—they attacked me twice when I was a teenager. Black people couldn't get into any of the colleges around the state, we couldn't live in certain Detroit neighborhoods, jobs weren't available to blacks. I could go on and on about the differences."

Horace Sheffield, president of the Detroit Association of Black Organizations, said, "Detroit is a different city from the city in those days. Whites thought they would control everything forever and they acted like it. These days they realize that it has to be a cooperative process. I credit that to Mayor Young's fighting spirit."

One prominent black Detroiter said the riots were good for the interests of the black community. "We got what we wanted because we were willing to burn the place down," said Ed Vaughn, owner of Vaughn's Bookstore, reputed to be the oldest black bookstore in the country. "The riot, actually it should be called a rebellion, told the nation in no uncertain terms that we were not going to sit idly and watch our rights be eroded. We were willing to do whatever it took to maintain those rights."

Although Vaughn is now an executive assistant to the mayor, he still runs his bookstore. In the '60s it was nationally noted as a gathering place for black intellectuals and a center of activism. Vaughn said he believed that the civil disorders that erupted in black communities across the country in the middle and late '60s were more influential than the Civil Rights Act in expediting racial gains for blacks. "I'm sure that Coleman Young could not have become mayor had it not been for the 1967 rebellion," Vaughn said.

He added that the current explosion of youth violence is an internal version of the 1967 disorders. "Black youth are increasingly frustrated with this country's racism and lack of opportunities. But this time around, instead of destroying buildings, they're destroying each other." □

"Some [of his advisers] told the mayor that the situation was so serious that he might have to pack off thousands of Detroit young people to detention camps before the city could break the cycle of deadly violence," said Remer Tyson, a political writer for the *Detroit Free Press*.

The auto industry's job insecurity

By David Moberg

THE UNITED AUTO WORKERS (UAW) LEADERSHIP has made it abundantly clear to Ford and General Motors: The union wants greater job security for autoworkers. That's understandable. Nearly 200,000 UAW production jobs have vanished since 1978. If trends continue another 500,000 of the industry's nearly 1.9 million North American jobs will be gone three years from now at the same level of sales. But what—if anything—can the union do about it?

Union leaders decided last month first to seek a solution at Ford, where sales and profits have been up, then apply it to General Motors, which has been losing ground on all fronts. But the record suggests that the union may at best slow job erosion, especially if it must rely on collective bargaining alone.

Except in some periods of economic boom, job security has always been at the top of workers' concerns. Historically, unions have dealt with the issue in a variety of ways. They have helped members upgrade skills so workers could have more jobs open to them. Before unemployment compensation was available, union members shared work during downturns. More recently, unions have tried to guarantee laid-off workers rights to transfer within a corporation.

Most importantly, unions have fought for income security. For instance, the UAW has negotiated supplemental unemployment benefits and guaranteed income for high-seniority workers. Such income protection can indirectly encourage corporations to create jobs so that they can get production out of people whose wages it is paying anyway. Canadian Auto Workers, which split from the UAW in 1985, is emphasizing income protection this year. At the moment, auto employment in Canada is more secure than in the U.S.

But when jobs are declining over the long haul, the task is tough. Few unions fight technological change, which can yield higher pay yet costs jobs. But longshoremen and printers, for example, have negotiated lifetime job protection for existing workers in exchange for accepting radical technological changes. However, in addition to rapid technological change, the UAW today faces problems of outsourcing of union work, transfer of many operations overseas and increased competition. That competition comes not only from imports but also from new, foreign investments in the U.S.—the so-called "transplant" assembly and parts factories. Some unions have tried, with limited success, to negotiate restrictions on outsourcing, subcontracting or plant closings.

Less hours, more jobs: The classic labor response to job loss, now being pursued vigorously again in Europe, has been shorter work time. That can mean earlier retirement and more attractive pensions to shorten the work career, more holidays and vacations, or a shorter work week or day. The average annual work time for U.S. manufacturing workers is 1,912 hours, compared to around 1,700 in northern Europe and 2,166 in Japan. Of major industrial countries, only Japanese autoworkers work longer weeks than Americans. Despite the large number of autoworkers still unemployed, last year the average Big Three autoworker put in 348 hours of

overtime. Industrywide overtime is equivalent to the hours of 80,000 additional full-time workers. Despite a new 50-cents-an-hour overtime penalty imposed in 1984, it is still much cheaper for automakers to pay overtime than to hire new workers. This year union negotiators have talked of getting compensatory time off in addition to premium pay. The UAW started to reduce the work year in 1976 with nine special "paid personal holidays," but those were later given up. That effectively eliminated roughly 20,000 jobs created by the shorter work year.

Yet shorter work time does not deal with displacement by radical shifts in trade or investment. In Europe, managed trade and industrial policies provide some stability, and an extensive social safety net makes job loss less traumatic. But U.S. unions are left to find solutions through bargaining to problems that would best be dealt with politically. And bargaining for control over investment, while rarely tried directly, isn't easy.

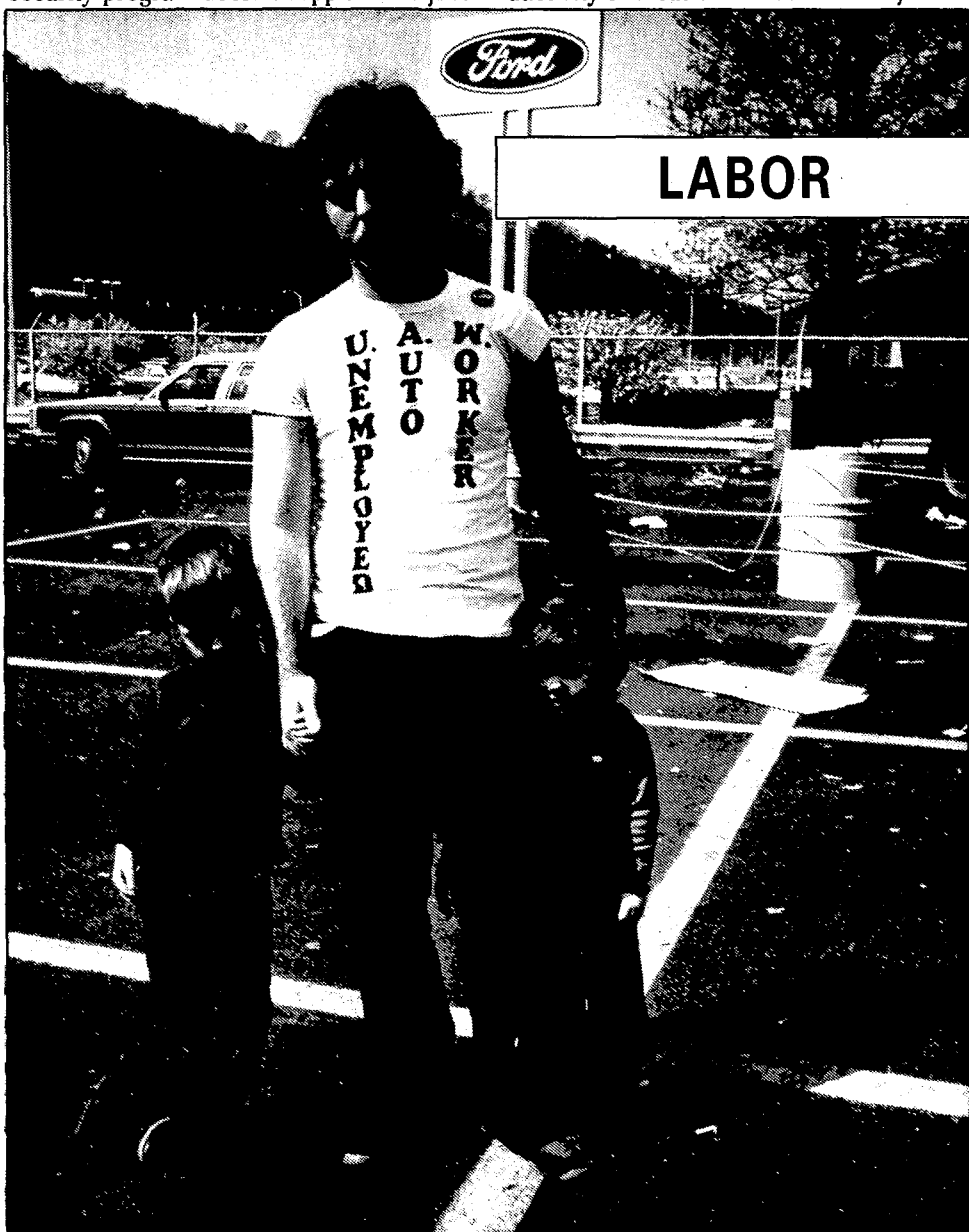
Banking failure: Three years ago both Ford and GM set up "job banks" that provided a "slot" for every job eliminated by outsourcing or new technology. Any unemployed auto worker could fill that slot, collecting full pay and benefits while getting training or filling in other jobs. But the number of job bank slots could be reduced by normal attrition, such as retirement, or by special company payments to "buy out" a worker. Although the program has provided temporary relief to a few workers—about 8,000 at GM and 700 at Ford, it has not proved very effective in guaranteeing job security. If another job security program doesn't supplant the jobs

bank, the union at least wants to tighten the program's operation.

The last contract also established jointly administered investment funds at both companies to create new jobs, but the companies and the union couldn't agree on a single investment project.

Recent gains: The UAW has recently negotiated agreements with agricultural and construction equipment companies that guarantee jobs for up to 100 percent of the workforce, minus attrition, for the life of the contract. But in those deeply depressed industries employment had fallen about as low as it could go without the companies vanishing, and the security agreement came with a high price in local work-rule concessions. In the auto industry itself, the UAW won several victories blocking outsourcing by the old-fashioned way: striking. Although those strikes were ostensibly over other issues, the UAW this year wants to add outsourcing as an issue about which local unions can legally strike.

The agricultural contract precedents figured prominently in union negotiators' minds in the final days before the Ford contract expired on September 14. But despite obvious appeals—guaranteeing a certain number of jobs, a percentage of the existing workforce or a proportion of UAW labor content in all future vehicles—the plan bears a distressing resemblance to a failed 1982 experiment. That Pilot Employment Guarantee was accepted at only one Ford plant, which made numerous agreements to increase productivity and cut costs but still lost jobs.



Another 500,000 of the auto industry's 1.9 million North American jobs may be gone in three years.

The parts problem: If the UAW wins a good contract at Ford, it will have a tougher time forcing the same contract on GM—although union President Owen Bieber has insisted GM will get no special deal. Chrysler and Ford had already greatly pared down their operations in the crunch of the late '70s and early '80s, but GM still makes far more parts in-house as well as final assembly. Typically GM is described as producing 70 percent of the value of its cars in-house, while Ford is 50 percent vertically integrated and Chrysler only 30 percent. But University of Michigan auto expert Dan Luria says the figures are closer to 50 percent at GM, 40 percent at Ford and 35 percent at Chrysler.

GM executives—and many industry stock analysts—are convinced that their recent poor profits are a result of excessive vertical integration. GM wants to sell off many of its plants, close some and reduce wages and benefits at the remainder—effectively splitting its parts industry apart from the master auto contract. Many independent parts plants, even those organized by the UAW, pay less than the Big Three contract calls for. But Luria's figures suggest GM overstates the issue. And auto analyst Dennis DesRosiers, who thinks GM should break off many of its parts plants, argues that the main problem is not labor costs but "bad management and lack of focus within operations. It's difficult [to make the parts operations successful] because of the nature of the beast [GM]. They just happen to be large and immobile in an industry that needs flexibility." Yet the UAW maintains that if GM improved management, vertical integration could be a boon, particularly in controlling quality.

The more serious problem may be what Luria identifies as a roughly 20 to 25 percent lower productivity than Ford or Chrysler across the board at GM (even though productivity has been increasing by nearly 7 percent annually in the '80s in the auto industry). But if GM improves its own management and reduces that disadvantage, jobs will be lost—unless it increases domestic investment.

Job security demands, Luria said, could influence the auto companies to invest more domestically. But the union can't risk impeding growth of productivity. Even if there are controls on imports, the growth of the transplant automakers in the U.S. will guarantee increasing competition, since those new plants—often built with huge state subsidies designed to lure the factory—are cheaper to operate. But by fighting for job security, the union can force GM to gain productivity first through better management and use of capital, not flight overseas or wage-cutting.

Delaying tactic: Skeptics like longtime UAW opposition leader Peter Kelly, president of Local 160, argue that negotiations to protect a certain number of jobs are a "delaying tactic" at best. It is necessary to "go for the long term" and fight for reduced working time, "the only historical answer to the question of rising unemployment created by new technology."

The UAW has an unenviable situation: if domestic productivity does not increase, its organized factories are threatened with competition. If it does increase, jobs are eliminated. Only reversing the accelerating flow of manufacturing overseas or out of union shops and reducing worktime while increasing productivity can provide the basis for the job guarantees it would like to enforce. That may take political action as much as negotiating skill or strikers' willpower. □

By Alisa Joyce

WASHINGTON

IN JULY LAST YEAR A TOP-SECRET AIR FORCE plane crashed in California's Sequoia National Forest. The following month the *Washington Post* reported that the same highly classified plane, a stealth fighter, was again operating at a remote Air Force base in Nevada. The Defense Department had no public comment on the crash or the report.

These two incidents were brief and rare peeks behind a thick veil guarding billions of dollars of secret defense spending. Called "black projects" and funded through the "black budget," their numbers have increased under the Reagan administration at an unprecedented rate. The total amount of black money in the \$312 billion defense budget request for this year is about \$25 billion. According to defense analysts and Congress members, black budgeting has been a preferred practice of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's Pentagon, and the secret budget has quintupled since President Reagan came into office.

Close to half of the \$25 billion is earmarked for secret military research-and-development projects. During the past seven years black spending for new military projects has increased at least eight-fold.

Black budget projects cannot be debated publicly on the House or Senate floors. Only a few Congress members have ready access to information about military projects included in the \$25 billion kitty—about the projects' schedules, funding amounts and strategic justifications. As numbers have increased, critics of the Reagan defense buildup have begun to question the need for such secrecy. They also are looking at the strategic rationale behind the secret projects and the potential for waste and abuse.

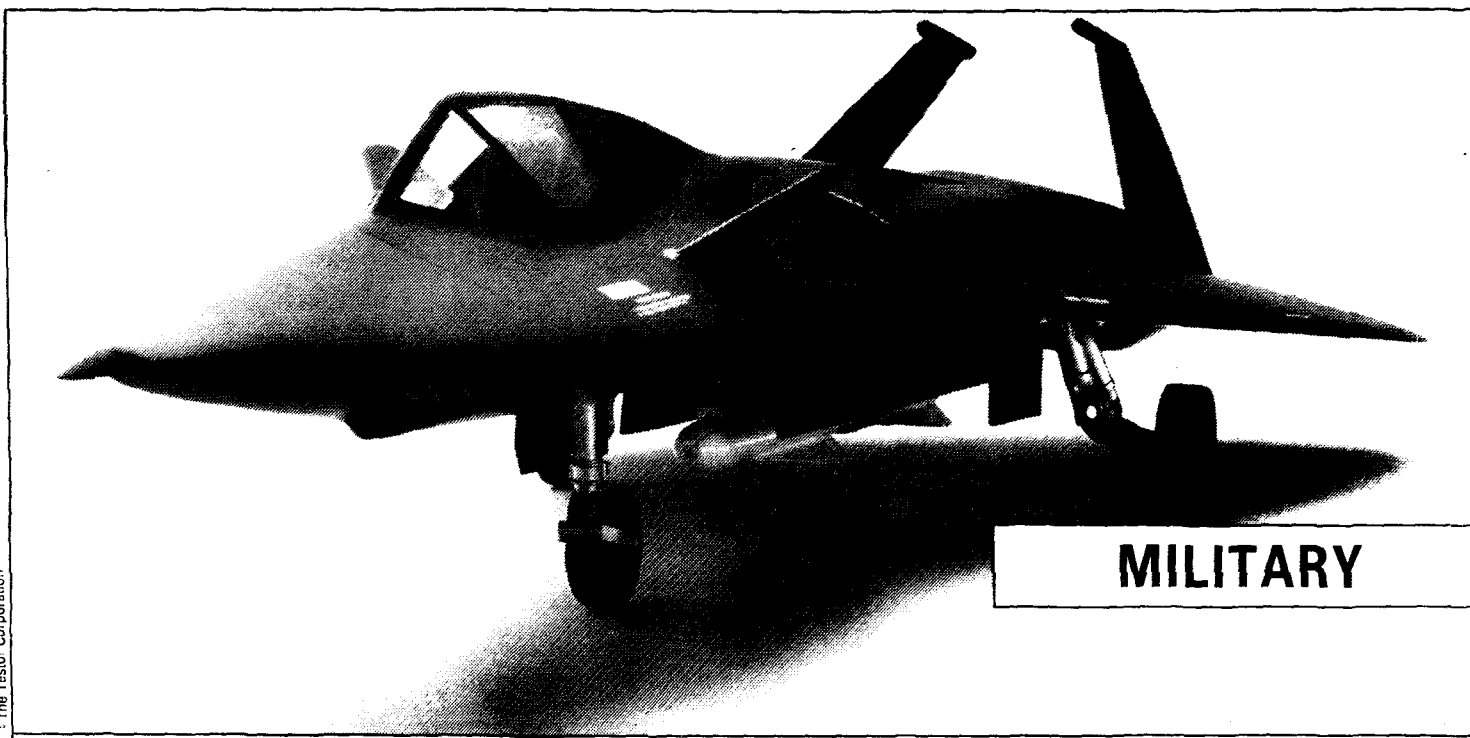
This year, as tolerance for the Reagan administration's penchant for secrecy seems exhausted, some legislators finally are determined to pull back the secret veil. "A consensus is emerging," said Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-CT) in a statement before the Senate Defense subcommittee last May. "Too much of the Pentagon budget is hidden from public view."

There are essentially two ways of "black-ing" programs in the defense budget. One is to identify the program but not the cost. The other is to disclose the cost but code the project name—using titles like "Bernie" or "Project Leo"—or put projects in vaguely titled categories like "special programs" or "selected activities."

These latter categories include funding for most of the government intelligence-gathering organizations including the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency (NSA) and the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO). Both the NSA and the NRO are agencies so "black" that their existence is not officially acknowledged. According to most analyses, the black budget is divided just about evenly between intelligence and military research and development.

Stealth technology: It is neither a new phenomenon nor a controversial one on Capitol Hill that most intelligence gathering activities are financed through classified budget requests. But in the past decade the black budget has expanded beyond the traditionally and classically black intelligence activities to include new high-technology military research projects like strategic bombers and cruise missiles. This is due, in large part, to the development of stealth technology.

According to the Center for Defense Infor-



A toy manufacturer's model of the F-19 stealth fighter, a "black budget" project.

MILITARY

The Pentagon's secret spending spree

mation, stealth-related research and development accounts for more than 65 percent of the military's portion of the black budget, while other defense analysts say that the combined costs of projects using stealth technology over the long run may go as high as \$100 billion.

Stealth, or "low-level observables," refers to technologies and design concepts aimed at making aircraft and weapons systems virtually invisible to enemy radar. To make something "stealthy," a radar-absorbent material is used to coat the outside surfaces, and the size and shape of the target is altered by flattening the sharp, easily defined edges. The target that can be picked up in a radar screen is thus made as small as possible. The potential uses of the technology excites the military.

"We are on the threshold of breakthroughs that will rival any in the history of technological leaps," wrote Under Secretary of Defense Donald Hicks in the *Armed Forces Journal International* last year. "Those breakthroughs are low observables—the so-called 'stealth' technology. In my judgment low observables are the military technology of the coming decade."

But critics contend that stealth has become an excuse for an abuse of secrecy. "You wave the wand of stealth over something and it becomes black," says Stan Norris, an expert on Soviet air defense and an analyst at the National Resources Defense Council.

John Pike at the Federation of American Scientists agrees: "A precedent has been established that if a weapon system is labelled stealth then no questions need be answered."

As many stealth projects are now moving from the experimental and development stages into full-scale production, the budget numbers are soaring. William Sweetman, author of *Stealth Aircraft*, says that as the technology developed and was applied to more things, it became attractive to keep it secret, "especially when you have a good healthy lead."

But critics and defenders alike have an additional explanation for the increased secret budget: Secretary of Defense Weinberger. According to Pike, the secretary has "a general mania for secrecy and a great deal of admiration for the Soviet style of running

things."

"Weinberger doesn't like releasing anything, because he knows that he is having to pay to get all the parallel information on what the Soviets are doing," says Sweetman. "All Soviet military projects are black," he added. A persistent and vocal Cold Warrior, Weinberger's control over defense budget classification is as good an explanation as any for the mushrooming of secrecy.

Winning a nuclear war: One of the more provocative criticisms of the black budget is that it masks a concept of strategic planning that the Pentagon doesn't want to debate publicly. It is a strategy sometimes called "long-war" planning in which the traditional concept of deterrence—having enough weapons to launch a devastating and complete first strike against the Soviet Union—is augmented by a strategy to fight and win a protracted nuclear war. One traditional black budget item is C3I, or "Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence," a computerized communications network designed to ensure control of the country's nuclear weapons after a nuclear attack.

The Pentagon has learned to avoid a public debate on the merits of such strategic thinking. When Reagan suggested six years ago that a limited nuclear war was thinkable, he inspired the nuclear freeze movement of the early '80s and made his administration highly unpopular in Western Europe. Yet despite the administration's more careful recent remarks, long-war planning remains a fundamental part of the nation's strategic thinking.

"There is a tremendous prudishness about discussing what nuclear bombers do," says stealth expert Sweetman, "because most people assume that after the first nuclear exchange it is all over."

William Arkin, a defense analyst at the Institute for Policy Studies, says that the stealth bomber is deliberately designed to function as a first-strike weapon and beyond an opening round of a nuclear war. "The Pentagon is less interested in looking at what will deter World War III than at what will win World War IV," he says.

But defenders of stealth and the new generation of weapons argue that without a capability to fight back after an initial nuclear strike, there is no deterrent posture at

all. "We have to introduce the idea of nuclear war fighting," says Sweetman, "because many nuclear weapons systems in addition to the stealth project are part of a plan for a nuclear war that continues beyond the first nuclear exchange. The public is just not well informed on this."

Waste: Congressional concerns with defense budget secrecy have not focused on the esoteric arguments of strategy but on the more familiar battleground of budgets and abuse. "We are talking about hidden caches of funds that suck in billions of taxpayers' dollars," says Rep. Barbara Boxer (D-CA), author of an amendment to this year's defense authorization bill aimed at the black budget. "And there is no accountability and no real oversight."

The argument that secrecy cloaks mismanagement has gained some powerful supporters in this year's legislative session. In addition to Boxer, Weicker and House Armed Services Committee chief Les Aspin (D-WI) also have authored amendments designed to expose at least part of the black budget to the public.

Aspin is concerned about potential waste in the stealth-bomber program. After an investigation last spring into the development and production problems of the new B-1B bomber, Aspin, along with Rep. Sam Stratton (D-NY), proposed an amendment requiring competition in the production of the stealth bomber. He said he wanted to "apply the lessons we have learned from the B-1B experience. While I can't discuss the specifics of the [stealth bomber], it is a matter of concern."

Even the Air Force has some doubts. Gen. Larry Welch, Air Force chief of staff, admitted at a meeting with reporters this spring that stealth-bomber development costs had been higher than projected and that money from production had been shifted back to make up the development shortfall. In addition, Northrop Corporation, the bomber contractor, has announced two major write-offs in the millions of dollars over the past year. Both can be traced, according to analysts, to cost overruns in the development of stealth programs.

While secrecy makes it impossible to quantify the amount of waste, fraud and

Continued on page 22

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

BY SOME MYSTERIOUS PROCESS OF CONSENSUS among the influential and powerful, each newly elected French government finds itself assigned a particular historic task that may have little to do with campaign promises or voter expectations. The nature of this task may come out only in subsequent memoirs.

Thus it seems that Pierre Mendes France, although conceded to be the leading statesman of his period, was never allowed to be prime minister again after a 1954 gaffe. France's mistake was that he disappointed the U.S. by failing to get French parliamentary approval of the European Defense Community that would have unified French and German armed forces. De Gaulle was brought to power in 1958 to grant independence to Algeria—the opposite of what the crowds expected of him. After his election in 1981, Socialist Francois Mitterrand's historic task turned out to be to reconcile the French to free enterprise values.

Another presidential election is coming up next year, and this time the historic task seems to be publicly spelled out in advance. Whoever the next French president is will be called upon to "anchor Germany to Europe," as the French put it. Or, to put it more crudely, to anchor the Federal Republic of Germany to French nuclear weapons.

Ties that bind: Last June, former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing called for "anchoring Germany to Europe" by a common currency and joint defense. These two tasks appear all the more urgent in Paris as Bonn seems increasingly reluctant to dilute its own strong currency in a joint European money or to sacrifice economic opportunities in Eastern Europe for a Western arms buildup.

In a major exposé of French intentions in the July 28 Berlin daily *Die Tageszeitung*, Georg Blume pointed out that Franco-German military integration is also required to save French nuclear strategy from its own inherent obsolescence. That strategy is a derivative of the "massive retaliation" long since abandoned by the U.S. The French are now edging toward a version of "flexible response." The neutron bomb—a small, "battlefield" nuclear weapon, noted for its ability to leave buildings standing but kill people—has been through South Pacific testing and is ready for mass production.

In an article co-researched by Mycle Schneider of the World Information Service on Energy (WISE) in Paris, Blume said scarcely any responsible French official believes any more in the Gaullist deterrence doctrine, despite the fact that everybody defends it in public. "The integration of the neutron bomb into a West European defense concept seems the best way to break the old Gaullist taboo," Blume wrote.

Interviewed by Blume and Schneider, Mitterrand's main military affairs adviser and former defense minister, Charles Hernu, said the biggest problem for joint Franco-German defense is whether or not France can station tactical nuclear weapons on German soil. "An agreement with the Federal Republic over the use of these weapons will be the great task of the next French president," Hernu said.

Going to Hades: Hernu recalled that the West Germans were unenthusiastic about French tactical nuclear weapons that would



Socialist Jean-Pierre Chevenement is calling for a joint French-West German defense agreement.

France, West Germany and neutron bomb diplomacy

strike West German, or for that matter East German, territory. But the forthcoming Hades missile, if stationed in West Germany, would reach beyond East Germany, said Hernu.

The Hades missile, scheduled to be produced in 1992 and to carry neutron-bomb warheads, has a declared range of 350 kilometers—roughly the east-to-west depth of East Germany. Thus if missiles were

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stationed right on the German-German border, they might be fired over East Germany onto Polish territory just across the German-Polish border.

Hernu and another former defense minister, Gaullist Pierre Messmer, agreed that the Hades should be stationed in West Germany. To get the Germans to agree they were ready to offer a "double-key" control of the warheads. Hernu favored "arming the Bundeswehr with Hades." Messmer suggested that the neutron bomb could solve the dilemma of reconciling French and German military requirements. "On the one hand, it would fulfill Chancellor Helmut Kohl's desire that the Federal Republic of Germany not be destroyed, inasmuch as the neutron bomb is not a mass destruction weapon, and on the other hand it would fulfill the desire of France which feels it cannot commit its army on German soil without tactical nuclear weapons."

German response to *Die Tageszeitung* revelations was swift and negative. Chancellor Kohl's main adviser, Horst Teltschik, called the idea of stationing French neutron bombs in Germany "utter stupidity."

Thus the main task of the next French president is not going to be easy. One source of hope for the French establishment is Defense Minister Manfred Werner, Bonn's candidate to succeed Lord Carrington as secretary general of NATO next year. Hernu recalled that Werner in his youth was a pilot in the French air force, and has no "blocks" about Franco-German military cooperation.

French defense ministry spokesman Jean-Michel Fauve told *Die Tageszeitung* that "in the light of the current state of public opinion in the Federal Republic, it would be a serious sociopsychological error for German government leaders to speak out today for nuclear cooperation with France." Thus public German dismissal of the project does not at all discourage French leaders. According to Fauve: "These things cannot yet today be brought out in public. But a solution must be reached in the next two or three years. All means must be used. These include stationing the Hades equipped with neutron bomb warheads on the Elbe."

Crucial period: The two years right after the 1988 elections are obviously considered the crucial period by the French power elite.

Hernu suggests the stationing of French nuclear weapons in West Germany be settled through "the public proclamation of a German-French security alliance in perhaps one or two years."

Former Socialist Prime Minister Laurent Fabius stated the matter plainly in a front-page article in *Le Monde* last month: "The main countries of the European Community will face at least two years without national elections after 1988. This will be the ideal moment to take initiatives," Fabius noted. "I

hope that the new presidential mandate will be marked by a veritable coupling between the Federal Republic of Germany and France."

Fabius stressed the importance of a joint currency. Joint currency and joint defense are the two necessary bonds for coupling France to Germany mentioned by all current aspirants to high office in France.

The most extreme champion of Europe is, fittingly, the head of the extreme right National Front, Jean-Marie Le Pen. "All the other competitors in the presidential election have an internationalist and one-world philosophy," Le Pen said recently, with his usual accuracy. "We are the only ones proposing to the French people a national framework enlarged to the dimensions of Europe."

Socialist support: Announcing his candidacy for president on August 29, Socialist Jean-Pierre Chevenement stressed the need for a "qualitative leap in our relations with Germany." Europe must have its own nuclear weapons, said Chevenement, declaring that "the historic vocation of the French deterrent force is to extend its protection to the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany."

Chevenement called for a "Confederation of Western nations" in order to prevent the Germans from "taking a short cut" to reunification "in exchange for a neutralized Germany, intermediary between East and West."

Chevenement's approach to the German question is to try to transfer his characteristically French super-patriotism to the larger entity of a Franco-German Europe. This type of patriotism requires adversaries, which Chevenement finds not only in the "two military superpowers" but in what he likes to call the "Japanese-American technological condominium," which he sees defeating "aging and declining Europe" in the "economic war" unless France and Germany get together.

These views were set forth by Chevenement in an article in the June issue of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) theoretical journal *Die Neue Gesellschaft* criticizing the draft version of the new SPD party program. Chevenement interpreted "the hostility on the part of German youth toward French nuclear weapons" as a sign of the "historic necessity" to build a common deterrence system using both conventional and nuclear weapons.

A somewhat discordant note has been struck by Michel Rocard, the leading Socialist candidate for president should Mitterrand decide not to run. Rocard seems to have been indulging in the very un-French practice of listening to what other people say. He has noticed that very many West Germans—many more than "a part of German youth"—want no part of French nuclear weapons, least of all on German soil. Rocard has expressed dislike for "the Franco-French debate on extending the French nuclear guarantee to West Germany," which he finds "condescending since West Germany is not even asking for that guarantee."

Rocard also wants a joint Europe defense, but "based on conventional weapons."

Rocard's chances of being elected president seem negligible at this point, despite his durable high scores in public opinion polls. In the unlikely event that Mitterrand should decide not to seek a second term, all the other Socialist "barons" can be counted on to strew Rocard's path with fatal booby traps.

Trials may determine fate of apartheid opposition

By David Niddrie

A TRIAL BEGINNING THIS MONTH FOR A black South African labor leader could hold an important key to the future of internal opposition in this racially torn country. Moses Mayekiso faces charges of treason, and critics fear that a conviction could lead to more such trials for opposition leaders.

Mayekiso, in detention since June 29, 1986, is general secretary of the 130,000-member National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), the country's second-largest

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worker grouping. At the time of his arrest he was head of the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC), the major political movement in the black slum township of Alexandra, north of Johannesburg.

The trial, scheduled to begin this week, has serious implications for both the country's burgeoning black trade union movement and for non-racial political organizations grouped in the country's biggest legal opposition movement, the United Democratic Front (UDF).

At issue are attempts by the AAC—paralleled in almost all black townships during the eruption of black resistance to apartheid in 1985 and 1986—to set up alternative

"people's administrations" to replace the government-created township authorities. With formal authority in black townships often paralyzed by ongoing unrest, black communities throughout South Africa set up "street committees" to administer black residential areas.

The state has charged Mayekiso and four other AAC officials, among them his brother, with responsibility for initiating these activities in Alexandra. It is a badly rundown slum community of about 120,000 people, whose township lacks such basic amenities as electricity, sewers and tar roads.

Ironically, in the months since the government imposed a state of emergency in June 1986 many of the AAC's immediate demands have been met: Pretoria has begun a massive \$60-million upgrading program in the township. It is tarring roads, installing electricity and water-borne sewerage and upgrading badly damaged housing. Previous government programs concentrated on knocking down existing houses and replacing them with new dwellings far too expensive for most Alexandra residents.

State prosecutors charge that the establishment of "organs of people's power" constituted "an unlawful attempt to coerce, usurp or endanger the authority of the state." As proof of a wide-ranging conspiracy, they cite calls by the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) to "make South Africa un-

governable."

State prosecutors are also concentrating on people's courts, established in many townships during the turmoil of early 1986 to administer justice to the nascent alternative administrations. In a trial paralleling that of Mayekiso, eight young Alexandra residents are charged with running a people's court and sitting on judgment on a wide range of issues, from residents' complaints that neighbors' dogs barked too loudly to accusations of robbery and attempted murder. Prosecutors charge that residents were intimidated into bringing grievances to people's courts rather than to police and government authorities.

"We are arguing that the people's courts were actually an attempt, and a relatively popular one, to bring order in a time of chaos, when formal administration had broken down," said one of the lawyers for Pricilla

Guilty verdicts in the trials of black labor leader Moses Mayekiso and a group known as the Alexandra Eight could lead to more treason trials against opposition leaders.

Jana and Associates, the opposition legal firm defending the eight. To back up their case, defense lawyers recently unveiled evidence that police at the Alexandra police

station advised residents coming to them to "go to the people's courts." They also intend to present evidence that an AAC "anti-crime campaign" in which the eight allegedly participated led to a marked drop both in township crime and in underage liquor consumption.

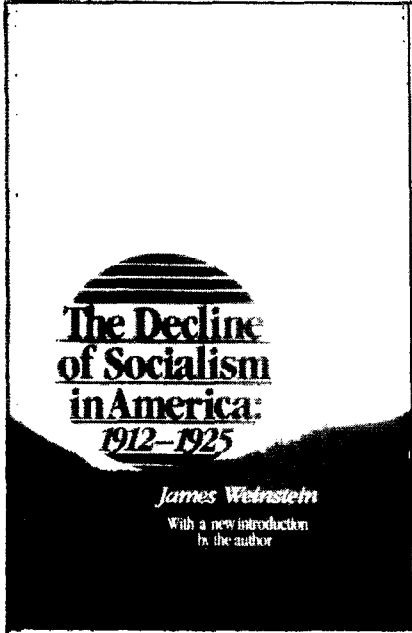
In the Alexandra Eight trial, the ANC, the similarly outlawed South African Communist Party, the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) are cited as co-conspirators. COSATU, South Africa's dominant trade union grouping, numbers among its affiliates both Mayekiso's NUMSA and the National Union of Mineworkers, the biggest trade union in South African labor history.

Prosecutors cite a speech titled "Organizing for People's Power," allegedly made in April of last year by COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo, as evidence of the union federation's role in a conspiracy to break down "the legitimate authority."

COSATU and the AAC are similarly cited as co-conspirators in the Mayekiso trial, which is expected to continue well into next year. Legal experts believe that conviction in that trial, or in the Alexandra Eight trial, could open the way for a major treason trial involving senior UDF and COSATU leaders. Because of this possibility, a senior police source described the Alexandra Eight case as "the trial of the year."

A future mass-treason trial of UDF and COSATU leaders could seriously hamper the political and trade union movements that have survived and, in some cases, grown under the past 15 months of intense state of emergency restrictions.

David Niddrie is a South African journalist.



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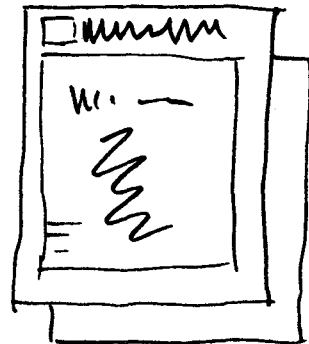
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By Eric Foner

THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION produced not simply three constitutional amendments—the 13th, 14th and 15th—but a new American constitution. As a result of the greatest crisis in our country's history, it was amended first to abolish slavery, then to establish a national citizenship whose rights, enforced by the federal government, were to be enjoyed equally by blacks and whites and, finally, to enfranchise the nation's black male population.

These were revolutionary changes for a nation whose economy up to 1860 rested in considerable measure on slave labor, whose Constitution included clauses that protected the stability of slavery and the political power of slaveholders and whose laws, from the beginning, were grounded in racism.

The principles engrafted onto the Constitution in the amendments of the era are now so much a part of our political thinking (especially on the left) that it may be difficult to recognize how utterly unprecedented they were before the Civil War. Apart from a few abolitionists, virtually no white Americans before 1860 believed in equality before the law irrespective of race. And on the eve of the Civil War no state accorded blacks the same rights as whites.

Even outside the slave states the majority of blacks could not vote, testify in court against whites or attend public schools. A few Northern states even prohibited blacks by law from entering their territory. In the 1857 *Dred Scott* decision the Supreme Court announced that no black person could be a U.S. citizen (a plausible interpretation of the original Constitution and the subsequent practices of the state and federal governments).

Nor did most Americans before the Civil War look to the federal government to protect citizens' rights. The greatest threats to liberty, most believed, arose not from the abuse of local authority, but from a too-powerful national state. The Bill of Rights reflected this assumption, for it prohibited Congress, but not the states, from abridging citizens' fundamental rights. Nor did any real concept of national citizenship exist before 1860.

Recurring debate: Indeed, the principles enshrined in the Civil War amendments were so unprecedented that the passionate political de-

bate they inspired has continued to our own time. Only last year Attorney General Edwin Meese chastised the Supreme Court for a series of decisions based on the legal doctrine of "incorporation"—that is, that the 14th Amendment requires the states to respect the prohibitions on abuse of power that the Bill of Rights had originally applied to the federal government.

The justices, Meese argued, had strayed from the "original intent" of the amendment's framers. Meese, in turn, was chastised by Justice William Brennan for attempting to reverse decades of constitutional interpretation.

Neither an assessment of the recent debate nor a broader appreciation of how the Civil War amendments changed the Constitution can be arrived at without a careful look at the crisis of the 1860s. Two developments during the Civil War were crucial to placing the issue of black citizenship on the national agenda. One was the disintegration of slavery—a process initiated by blacks who abandoned their owners' plantations to head for the lines of the Union Army and given political sanction in the Emancipation Proclamation.

The second was the massive enrollment of blacks into the Union armed forces. By the end of the war, some 200,000 black men had served in the Army and Navy. The "logical result" of black military service, one senator observed in 1864, was that "the black man is henceforth to assume a new status among us."

At the same time, the exigencies of war created a profound alteration in the nature of American government. The need to mobilize the North's resources for modern war produced what one Republican called "a new government," with a greatly expanded income, bureaucracy and set of responsibilities.

And the war inspired a broad nationalism, embraced above all by anti-slavery reformers, black and white, and Radical Republicans in Congress. With emancipation, these men and women believed, the federal government had become not a threat to local autonomy and individual liberty, but the "custodian of freedom."

The amendments of the 1860s reflected the intersection of these two Civil War products—the idea of equality before the law and the newly empowered national state. The 13th, adopted by Congress in January 1865 and ratified the following December, not only abolished

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slavery throughout the Union (including the loyal border slave states to which the Emancipation Proclamation had not applied), but empowered Congress to enforce abolition with "appropriate legislation."

End as beginning: "The one question of the age is settled," declared an anti-slavery Congressman, but the amendment closed one question only to open a host of others. Many Republicans envisioned a slaveless nation as one with "one law impartial over all." The amendment, they believed, authorized Congress to eliminate various kinds of discriminations against blacks as "badges of slavery" that must be swept away along with the South's "peculiar institution."

Most forthright in calling for further action on behalf of blacks' rights were the Radical Republicans, led in the House by Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and in the Senate by Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. The Union's victory in the Civil War, they believed, offered a golden opportunity to purge the nation of "the demon of caste," and to create what Stevens called a "perfect republic" based upon the principle of equality before the law.

Some Radicals, like Stevens, went even further, proposing that the national government confiscate lands belonging to the planter class and distribute them among the former slaves. Most Republicans were unwilling to go this far, but they did insist that blacks should enjoy the same opportunity as whites to compete for advancement in the economic marketplace.

When Congress reconvened in December 1865 the Radicals represented only a minority among Republicans. But events quickly pushed the more numerous moderates in their direction. Lincoln had been succeeded in office by Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. During the sum-

mer and fall of 1865, Johnson had initiated his own program of Reconstruction, which in effect placed the old planter class back in control of Southern affairs.

Southern public life was restricted entirely to whites, and the new state government sought to establish a labor system as close to slavery as possible. Blacks were required by law to sign yearly labor contracts; refusal to do so, or attempting to leave work before contract expired, meant arrest, a prison term or being leased out to anyone who would pay the culprit's fine. No such regulation applied to white citizens.

These laws, known as the Black Codes, seemed to the North to make a mockery of emancipation. In response, Congress in the spring of 1866 enacted the Civil Rights Act, which became law over Johnson's veto.

This measure defined all persons born in the U.S. (except Indians) as national citizens, spelled out rights they were to enjoy equal without regard to race—including making contracts, bringing lawsuits, owning property and receiving equal treatment before the courts. No state could deprive an individual of these basic rights; if it did so, state officials would be held accountable in federal court.

In constitutional terms, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 represented the first attempt to give meaning to the 13th Amendment, to define the consequences of emancipation. If states cou-

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deny blacks the right to choose their employment, seek better jobs and enforce payment of wages, noted one Congressman, "then I demand to know, of what practical value is the amendment abolishing slavery?" But beyond these specific rights, Republicans also rejected the entire idea of laws differentiating between blacks and whites in access to the courts and penalties for breaches of the law.

As the first statutory definition of American citizenship, the Civil Rights Act embodied a profound change in federal-state relations. Republican leader James G. Blaine later remarked, before the Civil War only "the wildest fancy of a distempered brain" could have envisioned a law of Congress requiring states to accord blacks "all the civil rights pertaining to a white man." Moreover, the bill invalidated many Northern laws discriminating against blacks. The underlying assumption—that the federal government possessed the power to define and protect citizens' rights—was a striking departure in American law.

One purpose of the 14th Amendment, approved by Congress in June 1866, was to prevent a future Congress from repealing the guarantees in the Civil Rights Act. But the amendment's purposes were broader than this. Its heart was the first section, which declared all persons born or naturalized in the U.S. both national and state citizens, and prohibited the states from abridging their "privileges or immunities," depriving any person of life, liberty or property without "due process of law," or denying them "equal protection of the laws."

For more than a century, politicians, judges, lawyers and scholars have debated the meaning of these elusive terms. The problem of ascertaining the amendment's "original intent" is compounded by the fact that its language was a compromise with which no one seemed "en-

tirely satisfied." Yet despite many drafts, deletions and changes, its central principle remained constant: a national guarantee of equality before the law.

This was now so widely accepted in Republican circles, and had already been so fully discussed, that compared with now-forgotten clauses concerning representation in Congress, the Confederate debt and the disqualification of certain Confederates from office, the first section inspired relatively little debate. One congressman declared it to be "so just that no member of this House can seriously object to it."

Unlike the Civil Rights Act, which listed numerous specific rights a state could not abridge, the 14th Amendment used only broad language. Unlike a statute, it was intended as a statement of principle. Both Radical and moderate Republicans understood phrases like "privileges or immunities" and "equal protection of the laws" as subject to changing interpretation. They preferred to allow Congress and the federal courts maximum flexibility in combatting the multitude of injustices confronting Southern blacks.

Indeed, it is ironic that an attorney general who prides himself on abiding by "original intent" chastises the federal courts for their judicial activism in interpreting the amendment. For Congress intentionally chose to rely on the federal courts for civil-rights enforcement. The alternative would have been either abandoning the freedmen, maintaining a standing army indefinitely in the South or establishing some kind of national police force to oversee Southern affairs.

It is equally apparent that, as Michigan's Sen. Jacob Howard declared, the amendment was intended to prohibit the states from infringing upon liberties guaranteed in the Bill of

Rights. Republicans wished to force the states to respect such key provisions as freedom of speech, the right to bear arms, trial by impartial jury and protection against cruel and unusual punishment. In fact, the amendment was deemed necessary, in part, precisely because every one of these rights was being systematically violated in the South in 1866.

The right to vote: Transcending boundaries of race and region, the 14th Amendment changed and broadened the definition of freedom for all Americans, for its language challenged legal discrimination throughout the nation. Nonetheless, many reformers were deeply disappointed in the amendment. Republicans in 1866 were divided on the question of black suffrage. The amendment merely threatened to reduce Southern representation in Congress if blacks continued to be denied the franchise.

And, in its representation clause, the amendment for the first time introduced the word "male" into the Constitution. Suffrage restrictions that reduced the number of male voters would cost a state representation; women could continue to be barred from voting without penalty. The result was a split between advocates of blacks' rights and women's rights.

Both ideologically and politically, 19th-century feminism had been tied to abolition. During the war the organized women's movement had put aside the suffrage issue to join in the crusade for the Union and emancipation. Now leaders like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony insisted that if the Constitution were to be changed, the claims of women must not be ignored.

To Radicals and abolitionists who insisted that this was "the Negro's hour," feminists defined it instead as the hour for change—an opportunity that must be seized or another generation might pass "ere the constitutional door will again be opened." In response Radicals, even those sympathetic to the idea of women's suffrage, insisted that tying the issues of black rights and women's suffrage would doom both. A Civil War had not been fought over the status of women, nor had 30 years of prior agitation awakened public consciousness on the issue.

Repudiated by the Southern states and President Johnson, the 14th Amendment became the centerpiece of the political campaign of 1866. When Republicans swept the fall elections, they moved not only to ensure the amendment's ratification, but granted the right to

vote to black men in the South and mandated the formation of new Southern governments resting on manhood suffrage. Under this policy of Radical Reconstruction, interracial democracy flourished for several years throughout the South, and blacks probably exercised more genuine power than at any time in our history, before or since.

In 1869 Congress approved the last of the postwar amendments, the 15th, which prohibited the federal or state governments from depriving individuals of the vote on racial grounds. By allowing states to continue to bar women from the polls, it further angered feminist leaders. Moreover, its language left open the possibility of poll taxes, literacy tests and other ostensibly non-racial requirements which could, and would, be used to disfranchise the vast majority of Southern black men.

With the end of Reconstruction in 1877, the egalitarian impulse embodied in the amendments of the 1860s faded from national life. The three amendments remained parts of the Constitution, but as far as blacks were concerned they increasingly became dead letters.

Even in the early 1870s the Supreme Court had begun to restrict the rights protected under the 14th Amendment. After 1877 the federal courts employed their expanded powers primarily to protect corporations from local regulation (on the grounds that corporations were "persons" who could not be deprived of their property rights by state agencies). By 1896, in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, the court found racial segregation mandated by state law perfectly compatible with the doctrine of equality before the law.

In the 20th century, the court slowly used the 14th Amendment to strike down state laws abridging freedom of speech and other provisions of the Bill of Rights. But only in our own time did a great mass movement and a socially conscious Supreme Court again breathe life into racial egalitarianism, and a broad view of national responsibility for citizens' rights that form the essence of the postwar amendments. If anything, the history of these amendments underscores how fragile individual rights can be, even when protected by the letter of the Constitution. □

Eric Foner is professor of history at Columbia University. His book, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*, will be published next spring by Harper and Row.



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Democracy's corruption at home and abroad

The idea of democracy is today the most powerful political idea throughout the world. But inevitably democracy means different things to different people.

In the United States during the past 25 years, the civil rights movement, the women's movement and the gay movement have vastly expanded the meaning of American democracy, both in the legal and actual rights accorded ethnic and sexual minorities and in the determination of these groups to assert their claims to social equality. In the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe during these same years, the struggle for civil liberties and a sharing of power with the ruling Communist parties has begun an irreversible process of political change. And in the Third World, country after country has in one way or another struggled to achieve independence from imperial domination and the right to determine their own destinies.

The United States, of course, is the oldest constitutional democracy, and because of our anti-colonial origins it served for much of our history to inspire democratic movements among colonial peoples throughout the world. Not surprisingly, therefore, American leaders have used the idea of democracy as their primary ideological weapon in the decades since World War I, when we emerged as the world's leading imperial power.

America's destiny, we have since been told ad nauseum, is to bring democracy to the benighted people of the earth—even if it kills them. The Reagan administration is only the latest in a line that stretches back to Woodrow Wilson and his "war to make the world safe for democracy." Even now, as the bankruptcy of Reagan's contra policy makes a mockery of his words, he keeps repeating his strident calls for the "restoration" of "true democracy" in Nicaragua. "We will not accept a mere semblance of democracy" in Nicaragua, he said last week in a speech outlining his goals for the last months of his administration.

In praise of capital: But one nation cannot impose democracy on another—that is a contradiction. And even if it were possible, there was no democracy to restore in Nicaragua. Whatever democracy exists was brought by the Sandinista victory. Reagan's call for democracy in Nicaragua is in fact a call for the restoration of the rule of capital—U.S. and native—over the people, disguised this time by some of the trappings of American-style democracy. But for Nicaragua, as for all semi-colonial countries, the first prerequisite of democracy is freedom from the domination of foreign banks and corporations and the right to decide for itself how to organize its so-

ciety.

Another contradiction lurks in Reagan's rhetoric. Democracy has no fixed form. Though it is based on the principle of popular participation in government—either directly or through representatives accountable to their constituents—the specific character of democratic movements or governments depends on historical circumstance. We do not consider South Africa a democracy, despite its parliamentary government, because the black majority is denied all the democratic rights accorded to whites and coloreds.

Yet few would say that the United States was not a democracy until after the Civil War, when slavery was finally abolished, and fewer would say we were not a democracy until 1920, when half the population was finally given the right to vote. That's because in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the United States was in the forefront of the movement for popular rule, and because it had a Constitution that allowed for democratic change within the established system. If those changes had not been made, however, few would now consider our nation democratic.

And that brings us to Reagan's concept of democracy for the United States. "What I want to see above all," he said early in his administration, "is that this country remains a country where someone can always get rich." And he has been true to this goal. A small number of people have become very rich as a result of his administration's policies. But a majority of the jobs created during Reagan's reign have been at poverty-level wages, and the number of people living in poverty has increased to record levels. Furthermore, Reagan has been an implacable foe of the major movements to expand our democracy in this generation—the civil rights, women's and gay movements.

Rights for everyone: Unlike the peoples in the Soviet bloc and the Third World, Americans, after 200 years of struggle, have achieved a wide range of civil rights and liberties. Our constitutional democracy now assures us the formal right to participate in the political life of the nation. It is, of course, important to defend and maintain these rights, but today democracy means more than that.

If the United States is to regain its role as a leader in the world democratic movement we must now make it possible for all Americans to enjoy the rights we have won. Democracy is not an end in itself. Its purpose is to make possible each person's full development as a human being. Those living in poverty or in constant fear and insecurity are denied that opportunity, and it is of little comfort to them that we live in a land where a handful of insiders can always get rich.

Democracy is a special heritage that Americans enjoy. But its meaning has been corrupted under Reagan and his immediate predecessors. Instead of using the rhetoric of democracy to pursue imperial policies, it's now time to pay attention to the expansion of democracy at home.

LETTERS

Friends

I WAS ASTONISHED BY ALEXANDER COCKBURN'S article "With Friends Like These" (ITT, Aug. 14). It is inconceivable that anyone—let alone the incomparable Cockburn—could misinterpret the Center for Defense Information's latest *Defense Monitor*, "U.S. Invasion of Nicaragua: Appraising the Option," as promoting the invasion of Nicaragua. The intent of the *Monitor* was exactly the opposite.

Realistically describing the details of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, and how an occupation would be manipulated, does not imply approval. We described the invasion and its consequences with "pitiless accuracy" (Cockburn's words) in order to heighten resistance to—and thus avoid—the prospect of military intervention.

A U.S. plan for an invasion of Nicaragua surely exists and it has been rehearsed by most of the forces that would be involved. By describing a plausible version of that plan in detail CDI is making every effort to raise public and congressional concern about an invasion so that there will be strengthened opposition to such a war.

I drafted the *Monitor*, but Rear Adm. Gene La Rocque, USN (Ret.), the deputy director, edited it and approved it before it was printed. There are no Marine officers with "limited military minds" running amok at CDI.

CDI's words, which Cockburn quotes, recommend political and economic measures "to promote constructive change in Nicaragua and Central America." These were included in this brief *Monitor* to suggest that legal, moral and humanitarian alternatives to an invasion exist.

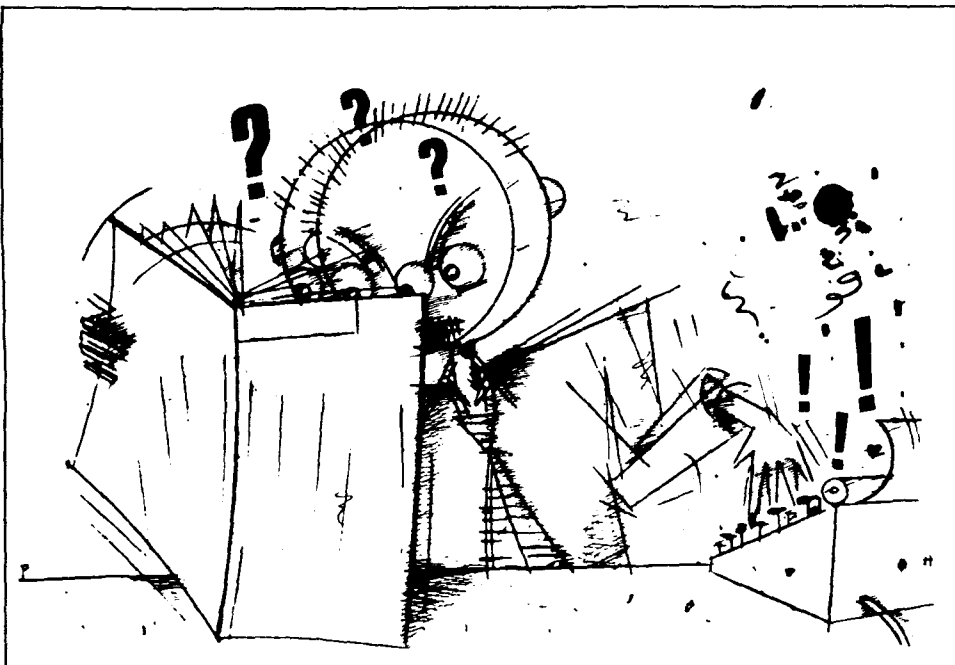
I first sounded the alarm about the Reagan administration's militaristic policies against Nicaragua during congressional testimony in 1982, and I have remained in the forefront of the battle against those policies ever since. I believe that by publishing this *Monitor* CDI has done another important service to the nation by again sounding the alarm while there is still time to prevent an invasion of Nicaragua. The favorable response from our readers, Congress and the media support that opinion. I am sorry Cockburn doesn't share that view.

John H. Buchanan
Lt. Col., USMC (Ret.)

Alexander Cockburn replies: When I said that the report prepared under Lt. Col. John Buchanan's supervision revealed with "pitiless accuracy" the limitations of the military mind and public-interest liberalism, I had in mind the dismal level of political analysis indicated in such prophecies in the CDI report that in the event of an invasion "the United States will establish and try to legitimize a Nicaraguan government more to its liking. The first step will be to get rid of all those ruthless military and political leaders in the contra ranks who would restore Nicaragua to the Somoza days. Hopes of any democratic process will soon be dashed if they remain." I'm sure the CDI's intentions were beyond reproach, but as a soldier Buchanan should know that intentions and achievements often vary.

The SANE/Freeze merger

JOHN JUDIS' REPLY (ITT, AUG. 5) CALLS FOR A PUBLIC discussion of the direction of SANE/Freeze. We welcome that call but believe



that such a discussion should not be based on a misstatement of the facts:

1. There are no "SANE leaders who see the new organization as a kind of comprehensive left-wing party." SANE is non-partisan. In 1986 we endorsed not only progressive Democrats but many Republicans (e.g., McKinney, Conte, Schneider, Green, Leach, Jeffords, etc.) and conservative Democrats (e.g., Reid in Nevada) where the opposite number was much worse.

2. SANE is focusing on all arms issues—especially nuclear arms issues. the SANE Voter Score Card in 1986 shows 12 votes used to judge the Senate (two-star wars, two-chemical weapons, two-nuclear testing, one-anti-satellite missiles, one-military budget and four-contra aid). In the House, 18 votes were used and these included the above and three SALT II, one MX and one Trident II. Which of these items indicate a lack of focus on arms issues? (All of this detail is readily available in the Spring 1987 *SANE World* distributed to our 150,000 members.)

SANE has outlined a major electoral thrust for 1987-88 which will concentrate on the following four demands:

- Nuclear testing moratorium and negotiation for a comprehensive test ban.
- End to contra aid.
- Reductions in military spending.
- Deep cuts in Star Wars spending.

Which of these issues would Judis exclude?

3. SANE uses exactly the lobbying approach described by Judis—concentration of grassroots activity in a specific legislative district with special emphasis on the "swing votes," combined with skilled lobbying on Capitol Hill. And the merger is likely to strengthen this process even more with its hundreds of local chapters and a strong

national organization in Washington. But our lobbying does not exclude—on the contrary, we emphasize that the ultimate successful lobbying technique is the encouragement of peace candidates in primary and general elections. Our best lobbying occurred when in 1986 we contributed to the successful election of eight out of 12 key Senate candidates, including six challengers and candidates in open seats, and 19 out of 32 key House candidates, including 12 challengers and candidates in open seats. The hawks in Congress think more carefully about their votes because of good lobbying and because of our success in primaries and elections.

The Nuclear Freeze movement did and does a magnificent job in mobilizing millions of people into peace activity. That, of course, will continue, and an opportunity will be provided for everyone to participate in the peace movement on whatever level they wish.

But when tactical nuclear weapons are available to local commanders in the field, when local conventional wars can become the trigger for nuclear disaster, when jobs in nuclear weapons and the military provide political support for the war system, when every dollar spent for the military is a dollar taken away from the hungry and deprived, how can we not include these items in our peace agenda?

Donald Shaffer
Chair, SANE PAC

Harvard's women

I LIVE VERY CLOSE TO HARVARD UNIVERSITY, and after reading your article (ITT, July 22) on long-term women workers there, I

felt I had to write this letter.

Harvard's power and prestige pervade Cambridge. It is impossible to walk through this city without being reminded daily of the incredible wealth of the university. Harvard is the largest single property-owner and landlord in Cambridge, and its endowment has recently topped \$4 billion.

And yet, from what I read in your article, a woman can spend 20 years of her life working there, to retire on \$5,000 a year. That translates into about eight months' rent (without utilities) of an average Harvard-owned apartment.

More incredibly, the long-term women employees you interviewed live close enough to the economic edge to have fears about joining the homeless. It seems incredible that a woman can work for 20 or 25 years and not be able to retire with dignity. These women are not working for J.P. Stevens or in some garment-district sweatshop. They are working for the most powerful, "enlightened" university in America.

The only bright spots in the situation are the women themselves, and the union they are building. From the unified voice I heard in your story, this strength will bring them victory against all odds.

Jean M. Entine
Cambridge, Mass.

Let's be fair

THE REPEAL OF THE FAIRNESS DOCTRINE BY THE Federal Communications Commission and the broadcasting industry is a challenge that ought to be met by an extensive expansion of the doctrine. We should be looking forward to the time when President Reagan will no longer have veto power over measures supporting democratic values.

One failure of the Fairness Doctrine that cries out for correction is that it allows the broadcasting industry to exact vast levies upon the electoral process by selling publicly owned air time to candidates for political office. Obviously this should be forbidden and the broadcasters should be required to devote proper time and attention to the basic process by which we determine public policy.

Fredrick S. Gram
St. Paul, Minn.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letter—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

by Nicole Hollander



Election '88: Is Bush a War Hero?

Every politician likes to have a fine war record. Even President Reagan, who spent World War II peaceably at home in Hollywood making training films, tried to muscle in on the action, claiming once to Yitzhak Shamir that he had been part of a film team that had recorded on film the liberation of Auschwitz. Since Auschwitz was in fact liberated by the Russians, this lie was—even by the president's high standards—more than usually lunatic. But it did not prevent Reagan from claiming that he'd taken the film home, and whenever one of his dinner guests had questioned the reality of the Holocaust (apparently a fairly frequent event in the Reagan dining room) he'd thrown the film up on the projector and silenced the cynic.

In contrast to Reagan, Vice President George Bush would appear to have an unimpeachable claim on martial glory. He was actually shot down over the Pacific by the Japanese, an experience that may not attest to his competence, any more than the sinking of *PT 109* did for JFK, but at least shows that he is in some sense patriotically battle-scarred.

This event occurred in 1944 when Bush was 22 and the Navy gave him the DFC. A crewman on the rescue ship photographed Bush as he was being pulled from his life-raft and this footage has been a staple of Bush's campaigns at least since the Republican primaries of 1980, and no doubt will be again as he runs for the presidency in 1988.

Bush has given at least three contradictory accounts of this episode and thus has attracted the interest of a former gunner on a B-17 called Jack Craven, now residing in Middlebury, Vt., who writes to tell me that he finds Bush generally despicable, not least for his exploitation of his wartime experiences in which he "lost the airplane and the lives of his two crewmen, enlisted men of course, and saved his own ass, which the Navy promptly kissed."

What got Craven interested in Bush's war story was a 1980 article in the *New York Times Magazine* that seemed to suggest Bush bailed out as quickly as he could after being hit and had no interest in what happened to his crew. Since then, Craven had found two other accounts, each contradictory of the each other and the first. Here they are.

Version One appeared in a profile of candidate Bush in the *Times Magazine* of Feb. 10, 1980. Roy Reed, a professor of journalism at the university of Arkansas and a former *Times* reporter, spent "five or six" days with Bush in preparing his story, certainly time enough for Bush to recall details of his now-famous mission and for Reed to tie up any loose ends. The central questions are, what really happened to Bush's crewmen? Why did Bush, 36 years after the episode, provide a battle scenario regarding their fate that substantially differed from that given only four years later in 1984?

In Version One Bush's plane was hit by ground fire as he was preparing to drop his bomb load on a Japanese radio station located in Chichi Jima, a Pacific island. He succeeded in releasing the bomb(s) and damaging the station. The plane, a Grumman Avenger with one gunner seated behind the pilot and another in the belly of the craft near the tail, was set afire. Bush

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn



George Bush has given at least three contradictory accounts of his World War II "heroism."

then "...pointed the burning torpedo bomber out to sea and bailed out." This version adds that "...the other two men in the plane died, probably before Lt. Bush touched the water." We are not told how or why they "died, probably" so quickly. Did the fire immediately engulf them? (Note that they were positioned well aft of the pilot and the fire, in all probability, was forward of Bush.) Did the plane explode? Or were they both mortally wounded by gunfire? If mortally wounded, how would a pilot, particularly in that type of aircraft in the split-seconds available to him, be certain of it? The pilot can't even see the crewmen in the belly of the ship. Do the wounded in battle know they have been terminally struck and so inform their senior officer? In the movies, yes; in this instance, unlikely.

A plausible explanation is that plane commander Bush assumed his crew were beyond help and he abandoned ship. But why did he have time to bail out and not they, especially if they weren't wounded? And why didn't the Navy escort the "burning torpedo bomber" with its crewmen out to sea toward a possible rescue? After his splashdown Lt. Bush paddled away from shore in his life-raft, under friendly air cover, to where he was picked up by a U.S. submarine.

Troubled by the holes in this story, Craven submitted certain questions to Roy Reed and Bush's office in letters written not long after the profile was published. Reed didn't reply, but Bush's spokesman assured him that correct naval procedures were followed in the action. That spokesman also provided a detail in what will be called Version Two: one of Lt. Bush's two crewmen had bailed out but died when his chute failed to open. Why hadn't Bush mentioned that in the 1980 profile? Having your crewman bail out and perish is a picture not as painful and ambiguous as leaving him in a burning plane "pointed out to sea."

Version Two appeared in a report of a ceremony held at Norfolk commemorating the 40th anniversary of Bush's airstrike and rescue. Describing the strike the *New York Times* correspondent wrote that "...before ejecting, he [Bush] managed to strafe an enemy radio station." And, further, "...The

other two airmen were killed, one by an enemy plane and the other when his parachute failed to open."

Was this second crewman killed in the "burning plane" or in his chute in the air or in the water? Did the Navy not try to protect him as it had protected Lt. Bush? Why did Bush not mention this fate of the second crewman in the 1980 profile? In that story both crewmen "died, probably" in a few seconds, right after Bush ejected.

And now comes, it seems, Version Three. In the Aug. 3, 1987, issue of the *New Yorker*, Vice President Bush is quoted as saying, "...I happen to believe that seeing my comrades in my own plane killed in combat...sensitizes me to the importance of a strong national security."

What did Lt. Bush see and when did Vice President Bush see it?

Deeds of the Freedom Fighters

Between July 5 and August 5, according to the Nicaraguan Ministry of Defense—and as reported here in the bulletin of the Central American Historical Institute—there were 463 battles and skirmishes between the Sandinista army and contra forces. Contra casualties were 536, including 494 dead, while the Sandinista army, reserves, interior ministry personnel and militia incurred 149 deaths. The contras stepped up their attacks on civilian targets, including assaults on 15 cooperatives, settlements and villages, sabotaging six electric installations and ambushing seven civilian vehicles. There were 39 civilian deaths, 46 wounded and 41 kidnapped.

Among the attacks: Contras fired on and threw grenades at a small public vehicle 18kms from Nueva Guinea in which 16 campesinos, including children, were travelling. Fifteen were killed and the others severely wounded. On the same day, also according to the Central American Historical Institute, a contra mine exploded on a mountain road near Matiguas, Matagalpa, killing Franciscan Brother Tomas Augustin Zavaleta and wounding three others, including a Franciscan priest and two women of the parish. A

man and a woman who admitted placing the anti-tank mine were presented publicly in the Matiguas plaza by Sandinista authorities on August 20. Samuel Alarcon Garcia, 28 years old, and Rosa Oporta Saballos, 20 years old, said that they had been given orders by three counterrevolutionary leaders using the pseudonyms "Canario," "Cornelio" and "Gavilan" to place the mine in the road. Alarcon, native of an area called Bijagual, in Matiguas, explained that they put the mine in the road early in the day, July 3, expecting that military vehicles would pass. Tiring of waiting and seeing that none passed, they decided to deactivate it in the late afternoon. Just afterward, the red pickup truck of the Franciscan parish passed on its way up to La Patriota to pick up two women who worked with them.

According to Alarcon, they were ordered to put the mine back by one of the contra leaders, even though he says they argued that civilians would be killed. The contra chief, Alarcon said, told them, "It didn't matter to him, that orders are orders and he didn't give a damn who died." Shortly after they reburied the mine in the road, the red truck carrying Brother Tomas Zavaleta, Father Ignacio Urbina and, now, Emperatriz Martinez and her sister-in-law Digna Martinez, passed on its return. The driver of the truck, Brother Tomas, a Salvadoran who had been in the country only three months, was killed and Father Urbina's back was seriously injured. The two women were thrown clear of the truck, which was completely destroyed. Emperatriz was sent into a coma that lasted several days when her head hit a rock and Digna suffered minor injuries.

First Sub-Lieutenant Cesar Diaz, ministry of interior chief in Matiguas, said the two were captured days after the incident, in a joint operation of the army and his ministry. Nicaraguan authorities announced that both would be sent to the Anti-Somocista People's Tribunals, which hear cases involving counterrevolutionary crimes.

On August 3 a boat belonging to the Nicaraguan Red Cross was shot at by unknown persons from the Costa Rican side of the Rio San Juan, while trying to recover the body of a drowned man from the river. This is not the first story to suggest casual attitude by the contras toward the Red Cross symbol. The June 1 *Newsweek* containing Rod Nordland's devastating portrait of the contras in action also featured a photograph of contras debouching from a helicopter that carried the emblem of the Red Cross. The contras were not unloading medical supplies but, unmistakably, guns.

Ignored in the U.S. press, the implications of this photograph caused considerable uproar in Geneva, where the International Red Cross is headquartered. The French daily *Le Monde* reported on June 19 that the affair was being viewed with the utmost gravity by the International Committee of the Red Cross and that unless the picture was a fake, the contras had perpetrated a most serious breach of the rules of international behavior. Which is no surprise.

Footnote: The Nicaraguan Ministry of Defense said that in this same July 5-August 5 period, there was increased U.S. military presence in the Central American region, including six reconnaissance flights over Nicaragua by United States Air Force planes, 82 airdrops over Nicaraguan territory from neighboring countries and eight violations of Nicaraguan territorial waters. ■

By Kathryn Phillips

IT IS HARD TO FIND ANYTHING PREDICTABLE about what Larry Agran is doing in Orange County, Calif., the center of Reagan Country.

This one-time foot soldier in civil rights and anti-war demonstrations has managed to win local elections three times despite heavily funded Republican efforts to defeat him. He has blocked new freeway construction—something akin to a heresy almost anywhere in Southern California—and welcomed Nicaraguan baseball players as official guests of his city.

Now he is leading a national movement among local elected officials to demand an end to the arms race—even though his county receives roughly \$3 billion a year in defense contracts, of which his city's local industry sees a sizable chunk.

Agran is the unlikely mayor of Irvine, a city of 100,000 in the southern half of Orange County, about 35 miles south of downtown Los Angeles. It is best known as one of America's largest master-planned communities. As in the rest of Orange County, which is considered one of the strongest strongholds of conservative Republicanism in the country, GOP voters outnumber Democrats two-to-one.

To look at this 42-year-old Harvard-trained lawyer, one might assume he is like most of his neighbors, a Reagan man down the line. He favors dark pin-striped suits, short cropped hair and serious-looking dark-rimmed glasses. There's nary a sign of non-conformance.

But his background suggests that Agran is not the typical Orange County resident. As a teenager during the Kennedy era, he was inspired by the idealistic rhetoric of his time. He went to Berkeley where he studied history and economics and spent his spare time in the rank-and-file of the civil rights and anti-war movements. He graduated in 1966 and went straight to Harvard Law School, from which he graduated in 1969.

He has been an American Civil Liberties Union attorney and legal counsel for the California Senate's Health and Welfare Committee. In 1977 he wrote *The Cancer Connection*, a critically acclaimed book that attacked the federal government's flimsy cancer policy. He moved to Irvine in 1975 after his wife was accepted to medical school at the University of California campus there.

When Agran speaks today he talks about an old-fashioned faith in democracy, about empowering people through their local government to bring about social and political change. He talks about cutting defense spending and increasing expenditures for low-income housing. He talks about cut-



Irvine, Calif., Mayor Larry Agran outmaneuvers Orange County conservatives and helps build a national network of "progressive" local elected officials.

Agran: cool liberal in a conservative hot spot

ting back the defense industry and retraining workers for socially useful employment. Agran talks about the kinds of things only a few politicians around the country—much less Orange County—consider safe to talk about.

The local scene: "I've become a strong believer in local government. One of the striking attractions of living in the United States is that you really can have some

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impact because of the great latitude given to local government," Agran said recently over a Spartan breakfast of an English muffin and tea at a Bob's Big Boy restaurant in Irvine.

The restaurant, like practically every other building in Irvine, was strategically placed to conform with a carefully crafted city master plan. Outside, it was painted in mellow earth tones. Only browns and golds and greens are allowed on Irvine homes and shops, many of them set next to neighborhood greenbelts. Rolling hills that change color with the season form a distant backdrop. There are no rooftop antennas. There are no billboards.

"This community is more heavily regulated than any community I've ever lived in. We have an intricate network of homeowner associations as well as city regulations. Some argue it's a boring community, but I believe it's attractive," Agran says. "Most people live here because they've been sold on the concept of a master-planned community." Many of them are refugees from congested, smoggy Los Angeles. They want to keep Irvine

from going the way of its northern cousin. And it is this sentiment, more than any other, that Agran has been able to tap to transcend party lines when elections have rolled around.

Beginning in 1978, and then every four years since then, Agran has won one of the city's five city council seats on a platform of slowing Irvine's tumbling growth (in 10 years its population has more than doubled) and preserving the surrounding open space. In the 1986 election, Agran pulled in with him two new council members, giving him and his progressive-minded colleagues a three-to-two majority on the council. The council then appointed Agran mayor.

"Larry's obviously an extremely crafty politician. He's the biggest political animal around," said Republican Councilman David Baker, an Agran adversary on most issues. "I like Larry a lot, but I wouldn't want him marrying my sister. Many people regard Larry as having a political agenda that goes beyond Irvine. Larry is still kind of a '60s guy."

To try to stop Agran during each campaign, his Republican opponents, aided at times by Rep. Robert Dornan (R-CA), have delivered 11th-hour mailings blasting Agran as a pawn of former Chicago Seven defendant and current California Assemblyman Tom Hayden. This red-baiting is common in parts of Southern California; but in Agran's case it doesn't work, principally because the anti-growth sentiment among voters in this part of Orange County is so strong. And, had his opponents asked, they might have been horrified to learn that, as far as Agran is concerned, Hayden is

often too wishy-washy. "I agree with him on many things and I disagree now with his rather moderate, sometimes tepid stand on things that I regard as real important, like the arms race, where I think you just have to be very outspoken," Agran said.

Bringing home the arms race: Agran has become increasingly outspoken about this. Baker is right. His council adversary does have another agenda. Agran is director of the five-year-old Local Elected Officials Project, a group affiliated with the Center for Innovative Diplomacy. Through LEO Project, Agran has crisscrossed the country to organize mayors and council members around four ambitious goals. "One is to reverse the

Agran speaks of an old-fashioned faith in democracy.

arms race. The second is to cut military spending. The third is to redirect those resources back to cities and towns," he said. "And the fourth is to help at the local level to build what we call municipal foreign policies that are progressive in nature, non-military in nature and that rely upon democratic participation in the formulation of national foreign policy."

National politics: In 1984, as the Iowa Democratic Party prepared to caucus and select its presidential nominee, Agran was in the state signing up mayors and city council members to join LEO Project. More than 200 Iowa local officials signed on. Since then, the number of local

officials affiliated with LEO Project has grown to about 1,000.

"We're looking for progressive local elected officials who will see the connection between the arms race and the deteriorating quality of life—and that includes some conservatives," Agran said. "We're much stronger in states that have been devastated by the arms race. States like Iowa where the resources flow out to support Pentagon spending and very little flows back."

Recruiting members in Agran's home state, where much defense money is spent, hasn't been so successful to date. But being mayor of a city in conservative Orange County has helped Agran capture the attention of some elected officials who might dismiss as predictable the same message from the mayor of, say, Berkeley.

This fall LEO Project will organize elected officials to sign a declaration calling for an immediate nuclear test ban. Eventually Agran would like to see LEO Project lead a national selective purchasing campaign where councils would decide not to buy products from major defense contractors such as General Electric.

"I think because we're a new element, we can be influential disproportionate to our numbers," Agran said of LEO Project's members. "If we can really organize mayors and council members around the country who recognize their role in reshaping foreign and military policies and, in turn, domestic resource allocation, we will have built a powerful new constituency in our national democracy." ■ Kathryn Phillips is a journalist in Los Angeles.



Homecoming in handcuffs: Junius Scales returns to Greensboro, N.C., in 1954 to stand trial for CP membership.

Memoir confronts Party disfavor and the Scales of injustice

Cause at Heart: A Former Communist Remembers

By Junius Irving Scales and Richard Nickson
University of Georgia Press, 496 pp., \$24.95

By Alfred Greenberg

THE NAME JUNIUS IRVING SCALES is familiar to few today. Yet just a quarter of a century or so ago, hundreds of prominent writers, artists, scientists, professors, labor leaders and political activists of surprisingly varied persuasions petitioned President John F. Kennedy to release him from Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary. Scales was incarcerated for having been a member of the Communist Party (CP)—the only person in the U.S. to serve time solely for violating the Smith Act's membership clause.

Despite the author's current low profile, Scales' memoir, *Cause at Heart*, provides a fascinating look at a period of U.S. history now being rediscovered by historians.

Scales was an unlikely convict, and as a university student seemed destined for an uneventful academic life: he had always had good grades, was a voracious reader, able researcher and an effective speaker. But at Ab and Minna's bookstore in Chapel Hill, N.C., he met not only fellow bookworms and classical music lovers, but campus radicals from the University of North Carolina as well. Before long, Scales was a committed political activist, caught up in the left-wing student movement of the late '30s. Eventually, he became chairman of the North Carolina Communist Party and then district organizer for the

middle and upper South.

An atypical tale: Scales' story is in many ways an atypical one. For starters, Scales presents a far more affluent background than do many of his Party counterparts; a scion of a prominent North Carolina family, he grew up during the Depression in comfortably affluent circumstances.

The setting of Scales' memoir also sets it apart. Scales was raised in the Jim Crow South, not the

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Northern, urban areas we have come to associate with Communism's genesis in the U.S.

Further, Scales has paid particular attention to crafting his story in a colorful, sensitive and evocative style. The quality of his prose no doubt owes much to the editorial assistance of his long-time friend Richard Nickson, professor emeritus of English at William Paterson College.

Scales maintains that his shift from young aristocrat to campus Red, and ultimately to professional revolutionary (as a full-time CP functionary) began early. He writes that reading, at age 12, Herndon's *Life of Lincoln* opened his eyes to society's hypocrisy. Probably just as important was the influence of his Jeffersonian father, who apparently shared many of his son's goals, but believed they could never be realized within a Stalinist framework. In any event, the young Junius was offended by the injustices he saw in U.S. society. Segregation and the other manifestations of institutionalized racism were the most striking moral outrages he saw, and Scales was determined

early to do all he could to end them.

In the place to be: He became convinced that the Communist Party "was the only organization committed to full economic, political and social equality for Negroes." This was a view he held not only in his youth, when he noted that "the most glaring injustice facing a Southern white was the mistreatment of Negroes," but also 30 years later, when he concluded that, on balance, his Communist experience had been worthwhile because "when it came to opposing white supremacy, there was nowhere else to turn."

Is this true? To be proud of participating in anti-racist struggles is fine, but to insist, as Scales does, that only through the Communist Party was it possible to have so participated is quite another matter. His position is especially puzzling since *Cause at Heart* also describes courageous non-communists who worked hard and often effectively against racism—such as educators Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Dr. David Jones (both of whom had known and admired Junius' father) and Clifford Durr (the brother-in-law of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black), who suffered greatly for his support of the Montgomery bus strike.

But Scales had long been aware of his own personal contradictions. After World War II, he returned to Chapel Hill where he became a CP spokesman—an internal dictator caught, as he put it, "between my Jeffersonian upbringing and my Party loyalty." He carefully avoided skulduggery when working within groups such as the American Veterans Committee, but allowed himself to be a little less scrupulous

when operating within the Party. When a troublesome—but certainly not evil—couple was expelled from the Party, Scales says, "the glorious end justified the slimy means."

In the early '50s, after hard-fought defeats in union campaigns, in the Wallace campaign of '48, and amid the growing witch hunt that defined the age of McCarthyism, Scales became "unavailable," the Party euphemism for going underground. Smith Act prosecutions of the "available" were continuing apace, the Rosenbergs were tried, convicted and executed, and Soviet spies were thought by some to be everywhere. In such an atmosphere, going underground was frequently both necessary and perilous. For Scales, the greatest loss suffered was separation from his wife Gladys and their daughter Barbara. This sacrifice came to an end when he was arrested in November 1954, in Memphis, Tenn.—betrayed by a couple appropriately named Smith.

In the beginning: The book's narrative opens with that arrest. One jailer termed Scales' arrival as "the biggest thing that's happened here since Machine-Gun Kelly." Scales was tried and convicted in Greensboro, N.C., and sentenced to six years in prison. Before the Supreme Court could hear his appeal, however, it had decided in another Smith Act suit (the Yates case dealing with the CP leadership in California) that the prosecution had not proven that the defendants had sought to incite persons to engage in violence designed to overthrow the government. This virtually ended Smith Act prosecutions, and had this argument been presented to

Cause at Heart: a fascinating look at a neglected period of U.S. history.

the Court in the Scales case, there would doubtless have been a similar reversal.

To forestall such action, the prosecution asked the Court to reverse the Scales conviction on a procedural error so that it could retry him and obtain a conviction in Greensboro that would stand up to Supreme Court scrutiny. As Scales' lawyer at the time Telford Taylor explains in his foreword, section 4(f) of the Internal Security Act required Communist Party members to register. If mere membership were a crime under the Smith Act, Communists could refuse to register on Fifth Amendment grounds. With the Scales case, the government wanted to show that it was not mere membership that was culpable, but active membership

knowing the violent aims of the Party.

By the time of the second trial, Scales had broken with the Party following the Khrushchev speech on Stalin, the Soviet invasion of Hungary and the failure of the Party to move toward democratic socialism and independence from the Soviet Union. Scales was particularly distressed over the failure of the Southern leadership to drop its sectarian ways.

Such disagreements didn't interest the FBI. Only by naming names could Scales have convinced J. Edgar Hoover that he was no longer in the Party. In effect, it was for the crime of refusing to inform that Scales was sent to Lewisburg.

Prison life as described by Scales was harrowing and frustrating, yet amusing and at times even heartwarming. Because he had recommended a helpful book to a Mafia captain, he received some special treatment (at one point, being saved from a rape or murder). But it was his organizing of concerts in the prison that won him the most friends. When Scales' sentence was finally commuted on Christmas Eve 1962 after serving 15 months, one inmate who felt he would now be deprived asked him, "Hey Scales, what about duh toid parta duh Messiah?"

Scales' post-prison view of many who remained with the CP is bitter and his contempt for Party hacks unrestrained, yet his respect for many former comrades is genuine. The author offers frank appraisals of CP doctrine and tactics as well, but exposes a weakness of his in the process.

It is true, this gentle man never engaged in any violent acts nor apparently advocated any; but as Georgi Dimitrov put it when he testified in his own defense in the Reichstag fire case, Communists may not now be engaged in armed insurrection, but they remain convinced that a violent revolution will ultimately be necessary to overthrow capitalism. The CP's ambiguity regarding whether socialism could be achieved in the U.S. through electoral means was one of the crosses that democratic socialists who accepted CP leadership always had to bear. Scales never addresses this question as frankly as the subject warrants.

But on almost every other topic, he is honest and believable. Scales never returned to academic or political activity after his release, which, on the evidence presented here, is unfortunate. Scales has left a legacy, however—this book. *Cause at Heart* is an enormous contribution to the history of the American left.

Alfred Greenberg is an editor and writer who chairs the Westchester local of Democratic Socialists of America.

Nostalgic time travelling: a New York state of mind

Manhattan '45

By Jan Morris
Oxford University Press, 273 pp.,
\$17.95

By Joel Brown

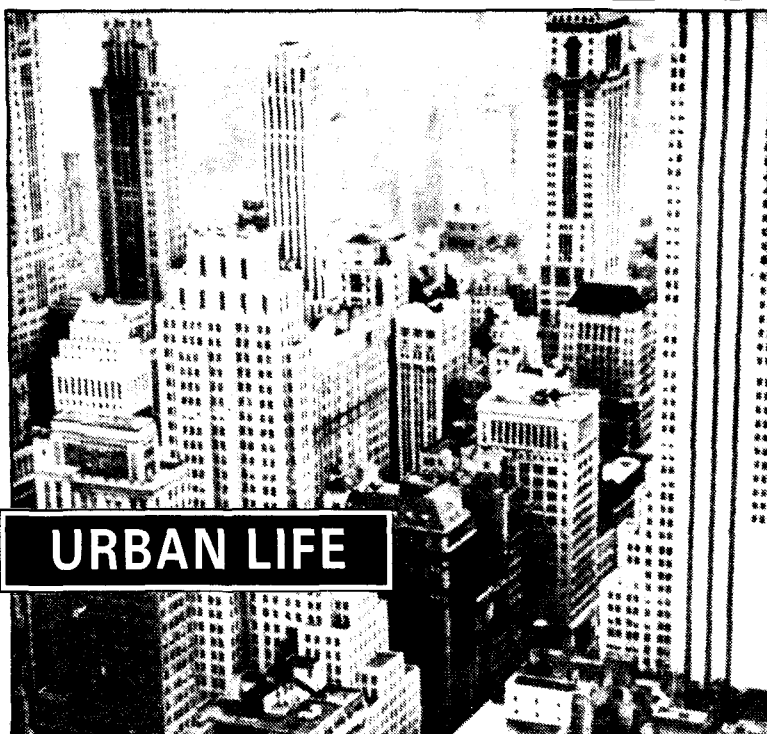
REMEMBER THE WONDERFUL opening of Woody Allen's *Manhattan*, with "Rhapsody in Blue" playing over the black-and-white photography of the city's jumbled roofs? How he must love that island to have directed that sequence. He spoke about it in a recent *Rolling Stone* interview: "When I was growing up and could ride the subways with impunity at age 10...it was coming to the end of the really golden age. My guess is that in the '20s and '30s there was probably nothing to equal Manhattan ever in the history of the world. When you think that there would be a hundred plays at once, you just can't get your mind around that." Woody was 51 when he said that; subtraction puts him on those subways and in the cast of millions of travel writer Jan Morris' new book, *Manhattan '45*, a loving evocation of that golden age and an exploration of what *Manhattan* meant at that crucial postwar moment.

Like Hollywood and Paris, Man-

hattan looms even larger in the imagination than it may in life now. Broadway and Wall Street, Times Square and Greenwich Village may all be less than they once were, but New York is unwilling to shed its status as Capital of the World. We still believe that if we can make it there, we can make it anywhere.

In her magazine pieces and books like the recent *Among the Cities*, Morris has taken her readers around the world, making the exotic familiar and the familiar exotic; her research and exploration somehow allow her to capture the elusive essence of time and place that few other current writers—perhaps Paul Theroux—see. Now Morris has turned her attention to another time, in a place we all think we know. *Manhattan '45* shows us anew how that island assumed its place in our collective imagination.

Morris reports she chose that title because it sounds "partly like a kind of gun and partly like champagne." It's appropriate, then, that the book begins on June 25, 1945, as 14,000 American servicemen and women sailed into New York Harbor on the *Queen Mary*, the first big contingent to return from the victory over Nazi Germany. Morris takes the reader off the ship and onto the dock and out into the city



URBAN LIFE

with the soldiers, beginning "an exercise in affectionate and light-hearted imagination" that visits the subways and the top of the Empire State Building, and from Wall Street to Harlem. Her tone is less scholarly, less documentary than usual, colored by a romantic nostalgia out of Tin Pan Alley.

This was the city of Walter Winchell and the Stork Club, of after-dark strolls in Central Park, of Irish cops and of Glenn Miller playing "Pennsylvania Six Five Thousand," which made the number of the then-grand Statler Hotel famous. The war was ending and the cabbies could talk baseball again. It

was the city John Cheever wrote "was still filled with river light, when you heard the Benny Goodman quartets from a radio in the corner stationery store, and when almost everybody wore a hat." A city, Morris tells us, that contained more telephones than any other nation, except Great Britain. In 1945, crime statistics showed only 184 murders, 649 robberies and 609 drug offenses in Manhattan, and the whole city retained, according to Morris, a touch of innocence amidst its worldly bustle.

Innocence and sophistication, romance and competitiveness, the sense of being the center of

America's new world omnipo-tence—no wonder Manhattan then appeared to Morris as a brief shining moment between the mixed wealth and despair that marked the '30s and the darker future. In every aspect of the city, from manners to the mayor, from Jewish tenements to Village cafes, and from drinking to riding the subway, Morris searches out the shape of this dream city and describes it in lapidary prose.

Perhaps it's no surprise that her nostalgia for those days of seemingly infinite promise led Morris to view the city's problems through rather rose-colored glasses. Racial tension is seldom mentioned in these pages, although the sultry allure of Harlem nightlife is prominent. A 40-page chapter, "On Class," devotes only three and a third pages to *Among the Poor*, and its description of the "terrible...cruel" tenements, "the worst of all indictments of Manhattan, at this happiest moment in its history."

But *Manhattan '45* is not really meant as a social study of the city as it was. It's ultimately a Manhattan of the mind Morris is writing about, an idea that inspired many artists and became a fixed part of the American consciousness long before we got tired of hearing Sinatra sing the song. In describing this city, her book is charmingly successful.

Joel Brown is a Chicago-based freelance writer.

Seventy-seven years of the truth, by George

Witness to a Century: Encounters with the Noted, the Notorious, and the Three SOBs

By George Seldes
Ballantine Books, 490 pp., \$19.95

By David Dupont

ON FEB. 9, 1908, 18-YEAR-OLD George Seldes presented himself to the editor of the *Pittsburgh Leader* and asked for a job as a reporter. He didn't exactly get a job, rather he was told that if he wanted to he could hang around and learn. In exchange he got \$3.50 in lunch money.

Seventy-eight years later, Seldes is still around. He has just published *Witness to a Century: Encounters with the Noted, the Notorious, and the Three SOBs*, his self-described valedictory.

"This reporter believes that the time has come for him to conclude his job with a personal anecdotal-historical review of his past 77 years," he writes.

The book traces his career at the *Leader* where his article on the rape of a sales clerk by a department store owner's son was suppressed and used to coerce the business

into buying bigger ads. It follows the crusade he waged against censorship and the "prostitution of the press" in 18 books and numerous magazine articles and chronicles the founding and editing of the newsletter *In Fact* (1940-1950)—the first U.S. publication devoted solely to press criticism.

Just the facts, ma'am: His journalistic philosophy is simple: "If ever the facts are presented fairly and honestly, the truth will take care of itself." He has devoted much of his time since leaving regular newspaper work in 1929 to setting the record straight about those events he has covered, disclosing the political, religious and economic forces that actively suppress the truth.

And that pressure, he believes, was (and is) almost always from the right. Though *Witness* is an anecdotal memoir and not straight press criticism, at the book's core is Seldes' battle for a more honest press. Written in Seldes' blunt, homely prose, it inevitably reads at times like a collection of newspaper columns.

He recounts how the Catholic hierarchy (which he is always careful to distinguish from the majority of the Catholic laity) pressured the

American press into siding with Franco. Seldes also tells how a proposed left-of-center picture magazine, which was to have included an exposé of the ties between the American Legion and Fascism, was stifled by advertisers.

His proudest achievement is providing the Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes data, which was sup-

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pressed by the press, about the link between smoking and lung cancer and emphysema. Ickes broadcast these in 1939 over *Town Meeting of the Air*. That broadcast, Seldes says, was the start of the anti-smoking movement.

Touble left and right: He eventually had to cease publication of *In Fact* in 1950 as his number of

As always, Seldes battles for an honest press.

subscribers decreased due to pressure from the right, including surveillance by the FBI and disenchantment on the left because of his favorable reports from Tito's Yugoslavia.

In 1953 he was called to answer to Joe McCarthy, who had been a prime target of Seldes' during the *In Fact* years. But McCarthy "cleared" Seldes ("I do not know

what I was 'cleared' of," he writes). It still irks Seldes, though, that the *New York Times*, at the bottom of its story simply said he was "not held over."

"No one ever told the public, which for years had been reading libelous attacks on us, what we had been 'cleared of,'" Seldes writes of himself and Joseph Freeman, who also appeared before McCarthy that day.

Seldes retired to rural Vermont and faded from view for more than three decades. Much of his time was taken up compiling *The Great Quotations*, published in 1961, and its successor, *The Great Thoughts*, in 1983. But when he was rediscovered at age 90 (in part due to his appearance in the movie *Reds*), many people were surprised he was still alive.

Witness to a Century reflects the quiet of those three decades. The figures who appear in the last chapters are from Seldes' past, most memorably Dolores Ibarruri, "La Pasionaria" of the Spanish Rebellion. The tone of the book is lighter than Seldes' previous hard-hitting work. His outrage is muted, and he allows himself to focus on people more than issues.

Editing Cole Porter: He includes anecdotes about, among others, Emma Goldman, who cited her rogues' gallery mug shot as proof she introduced bobbed hair to America. And he writes that Cole Porter had to be dissuaded by his

politically astute friends from including the line "You're the top, you're Mussolini" in his song "You're the Top."

Seldes' view of the press has mellowed considerably. "For the first time in the 200-year history of the Republic [the press] began to serve one of the constitutional objectives for which the nation was founded—the general welfare of the American people."

No longer, he says, do the American Legion, Catholic Church, Chamber of Commerce, the DAR, the Ku Klux Klan and fascist groups exert the oppressive influence they did in the early decades of the century. This assessment seems overly generous given the recent rightward shift of much of the American media and the growing trivialization of the news. At times I found myself missing the outrage that characterized most of Seldes' earlier work.

Witness nonetheless hints at how bad things can be and provides an introduction to his crusade. For fuller, more forceful tellings, scrounge in the back stacks of the library or used-book stores for copies of his 18 other books, such as *Can These Things Be!*, *You Can't Print That!*, *Freedom of the Press*, *1000 Americans*, *Sawdust Caesar: The Untold Story of Mussolini and Fascism* and *Lords of the Press*.

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By Jay Kaufman

WHEN MY FRIEND LEV ARRIVED in the U.S. from the Soviet Union in the early '80s the first thing he did was dress up like John Travolta in the movie *Saturday Night Fever* and go out looking for discotheques. His picture of America was several years behind the times, and I'm not sure if he's caught up yet. When I traveled to Jamaica this year I found myself in the same predicament, expecting the Jamaica portrayed by the international media, and finding that there was roughly a 10-year lag between expectations and reality.

What I expected to find, of course, was reggae—that revolutionary back-beat rock music performed by dreadlocked, ganja-smoking Rastafarians. I anticipated the huge "peace concerts" I had read so much about, with anti-colonial lyrics, black nationalism and pan-Africanism set to a bass-oriented blend of R&B and Caribbean island rhythms. This was the Jamaica depicted by Bob Marley album covers and in the pages of *Rolling Stone*. If this Jamaica ever was, it is no longer.

You can still find reggae in the north-coast tourist resorts, and you can still find it in the record stores. You won't, however, dance to reggae in the dance-halls or "yards" of Kingston.

Jamaicans are proud of the international attention that reggae afforded them, but when they get up to dance these days, it's to dub, DJ, rag-a-muffin or some other new style, mostly based on a spoken "toast" over one of a standard set of bass and drum tracks, similar in many respects to American rap. Musical evolutions do occur; reggae itself was descendent from a long line of earlier musics such as mento, ska and rock-steady. But most unusual to me was the seeming abandonment of reggae's strong political message. Why had this happened? And what does it suggest about the futures of other politicized musics such as Trinidad's Calypso?

Mere hype? The first possible explanation is, of course, that it was never really like that at all, that the political content was mere hype from artists and record companies designed to appeal to first-world youth and meant little to Jamaicans. Keith Hanson, a Jamaican drummer who has spent the last four years touring Africa and Europe with a popular band, quit and returned to Jamaica recently because he felt uncomfortable with such music-business hypocrisy.

"We would have an interview with the press," he says, "and the manager would prepare us beforehand to make sure that we said something about South Africa or something like that. Then more people would come to the concerts,



MUSIC

Reggae's influence waned after Bob Marley's death, but other politicized island strains still proliferate.

Jamaican beat goes on; politics goes underground

especially in Germany. But in Africa people didn't care about that, they just wanted to dance."

Hanson, who now tours with popular reggae star Peter Tosh, shrugged his shoulders when asked if there weren't some sincere reggae artists. "You can never really tell, so long as there's so much money at stake."

Most Jamaicans take a less cynical position. They view '70s reggae music as a serious expression of anti-colonial frustration and pride in their African heritage, a music that reaffirmed the tradition of Garveyism and reinforced its descendent, Rastafarianism. Indeed, reggae musicians were active politically during the previous decade, not only by raising consciousness through their lyrics, but also by writing campaign songs for the socialist government that was elected in 1972 and again in 1976.

Bob Marley toured with aspiring socialist politician Michael Manley before the 1972 election and made a concert appearance with Prime Minister Manley in the pre-election months of 1976 as well, despite an assassination attempt that wounded the singer only days before. Prime Minister Manley, in return, strongly supported reggae musicians and their Rastafarian faith, stating frequently that he shared the music's revolutionary sentiments.

But by 1981, things had changed. After a long destabilization effort

by the U.S. that included the arming of opposition party gangs by the CIA, Manley's socialist government and the People's National Party (PNP) fell from power and the conservative government of the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) under Edward Seaga was elected. Further, Bob Marley died of cancer seven months after the change of government at the age of 36. These two events doubtlessly greatly influenced Jamaica's subsequent popular music.

Beat street: The political violence surrounding the 1980 elections may account for much of the change in musical content. Jamaican pianist and musicologist Marjorie Whyllie says that the repressive climate in which more than 700 people were killed by political gang warfare did much to intimidate musicians and move them away from political themes. But, she says, the push away from political statements began even before the new government assumed power, mainly as a result of artists' fear. "You became a marked person," she said. "It just became too dangerous to stick your neck out."

The Marley assassination attempt is but one example. A little more than a year after the Marley incident Peter Tosh was abducted by plain-clothes police, jailed and beaten nearly to death—most likely as a result of political statements made at a "peace concert" shortly before.

The brutality peaked in the months before the 1980 elections. Scores of individuals were gunned down for reasons as petty as drinking "the PNP beer" (Red Stripe) in a JLP neighborhood. It's no wonder that musicians may have decided to save their rhetoric for foreign audiences.

A number of changes accompanied the election of the Seaga government, which may also have contributed to dropping political themes from the musical agenda. The JLP government is much more closely allied with the U.S., as is demonstrated by, among other ways, the leading role it played in

It seems that the political legacy of Jamaican music continues, but in a form less accessible to foreigners.

the 1983 invasion of Grenada. Since 1980, therefore, there has been a stronger presence of American culture in Jamaica, including American music and the American musical aesthetic.

Due to a new IMF agreement and a flurry of new investments from North America that followed on the heels of the Seaga victory, there

was a sudden explosion in wealth and consumption among the Jamaican rich, while workers' real earnings declined substantially. Consequently, the social strata that could support the musical community shifted upward, and popular musicians had to appeal more consciously to upper-class tastes. At the same time, the tastes of the Jamaican elite were being shaped by the proliferation of satellite dishes and other American luxury products purchased with the IMF loan money, leading to a desire for music that sounded less like Marley and more like Lionel Richie.

Jammin' to harsh realities: Pianist and composer Peter Ashbourne, who writes about half of all commercial jingles in Jamaica, explained that changes in the island's economy and musical marketplace forced reggae musicians to "come to grips with some harsh realities." "Most of the Rastas," he said, "cut off their locks and decided that it was time to make some money." As a result, many groups that were actively political during the '70s are now geared toward the small neo-yuppie subculture centered in the New Kingston district.

"But then again," Ashbourne adds, "maybe it's just a sign of the times. I mean, it may be a musical dead-end for Jamaica, but if you look at pop songs anywhere else in the Western world, they're no less brainless. I think it's just what's popular these days."

But the majority of Jamaicans cannot frequent the posh clubs and hotels of New Kingston. They go to "dance-halls"—big open areas equipped with nothing but a formidable sound system—like Ray-Town, a stretch of road near Kingston Harbor. Here the music is dub, or DJ; just a microphone and a pre-recorded set of bass and drum "riddims" over which a DJ improvises a rhythmic barrage of poetry, insults, "toasts" and stories.

There are dub superstars, like Yellowman, but most dub is performed by young men from the neighborhood where the "dance-hall" is situated, and they compete fiercely for local recognition. Basically, anyone can do it, since you don't need any musical training, just a good sense of rhythm and an ability to think on your feet. Dub has to some extent democratized the music business, much as punk did in late '70s England: taking production of music away from a small skilled elite and putting it into the hands of the masses. For this reason I expected that this is where the political tradition of reggae should have been preserved. So why wasn't dub music political?

The good news: Garth White, musicologist at the African-Caribbean Institute of Jamaica, provided the simplest and most encouraging answer, "It is." There is indeed a great deal of political expression

and social protest in dub music, but it has become much more subtle in comparison with the overt statements that characterized the '70s. After all, if political repression is directed against those who make overt protests, and if overt criticism is banned from radioplay, then one logical response is to become more subtle, to hid the politics in other frameworks, such as

love stories and silly nursery rhymes. But White feels that the subtlety also represents a new tactic to reach audiences in a more powerful way.

"If you keep hearing overtly political music," says White, "eventually you turn it off, you start to ignore the message or not really think about it. But if you have a little love song and you say, 'I'm in love with

this woman but she doesn't have a job and so she's got no food,' and so on, then there's no defense against that—you work it in to the person's consciousness more cleverly."

And so the legacy of reggae continues, albeit in a form less accessible to foreigners since the slang and pronunciation employed by Jamaican deejays is all but unintel-

ligible to the non-Caribbean ear. What is important, however, is that Jamaican popular music, political in one way or another for centuries, and especially so in the '70s, did not yield to the pressure of internal repression or creeping Americanism. It has remained an effective form of political expression for many Jamaicans, though of necessity evolving due to political and

social change on the island. This demonstration of the resiliency of popular music as a vehicle of political expression and of popular culture is as important as it is refreshing.

Jay Kaufman has just returned to the U.S. from 10 months in the Caribbean researching political expression in popular music as a fellow of the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

Rodchenko reconstructed

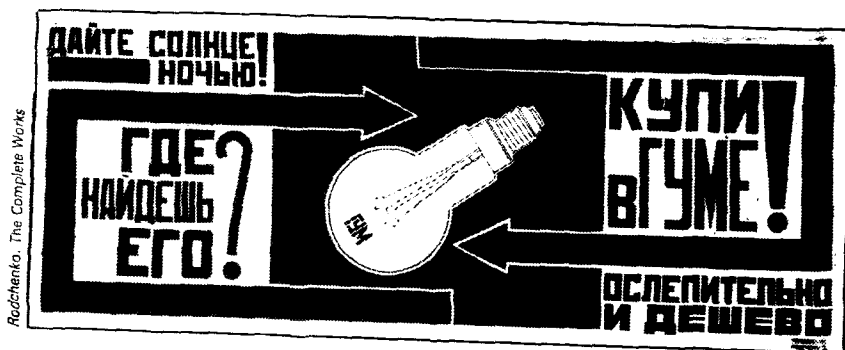
The work of Russian artist Alexander Rodchenko defies simple classification. He was a painter, architect, graphic designer, photographer, teacher and revolutionary. Born in St. Petersburg in 1891, he attended art school in Kazan and moved to Moscow in 1914 where he was to spend most of his life.

The Futurists were an early influence, but it was the 1917 revolution that made a decisive and lasting impact on his life and work. The role of the revolutionary became a model for the role of an artist. In contrast to the "alienated" status taken on by the leading artists of Western Europe, Rodchenko and other Russian artists of the period sought to be an integral part of the emerging post-revolutionary society. And for a while they succeeded. Eventually, however, the revolu-

tionary aspect of their art met with increasing opposition from the Soviet bureaucracy and from Stalin, and their official and quasi-official positions disappeared.

Rodchenko: The Complete Work (MIT Press, 1987) displays the breadth of Rodchenko's work, his paintings, posters, buildings, pavilions, furniture, photographs, film sets and costume designs. The text, by Soviet architectural historian Selim O. Khan-Magomedov, places the work in its social and political environment while also detailing Rodchenko's life. This placement is particularly necessary in the case of Rodchenko because the changing relationship of art to society was a central concern of the movements in which he participated. Overall, an excellent book flawed only by its price of \$50.00.

—Miles DeCoster



Above left; Advertisements for light bulbs, 1923.

Left: Poster for *Kino-glaz*, 1924.

Above: Photo montage for *Pro Eto*.

Black budget

Continued from page 9

abuse in black-budget programs, some cracks in the shield have recently appeared. Late last year former Northrop engineer William Reineke was convicted of defrauding the company of \$600,000 while working on the secret project. That was the third criminal conviction involving the stealth bomber in 1986. This year, according to one source, there may be even more dramatic revelations.

Dina Rasor, director of the Project on Military Procurement, as well as staff members of congressional oversight committees predict a "big blow-out" by year's end. And as Congress intensifies its scrutiny, whistleblowers are beginning to emerge from behind the black veil. Sources hint at tens of millions of dollars of wasted defense dollars at a company working on black projects.

Going white: Arguments on strategy and mismanagement aside, it is the principle of the matter that concerns black-budget critics the most. "The one difference between Russia and the U.S. is that in this country the military is accountable to the people because we foot the bill," argues Pike. "There is essentially a contract written that the taxpayers of this country should know how their money is spent, unless there is a very good reason for them not to."

Rep. Boxer agrees: "I look at the budget and it is all code names and blanks," she says. "I can't tell my people that I know where their money is being spent."

As the tenor and tempo of criticism increase, even staunch stealth and black-budget defenders are beginning to argue that

the administration has erred too long on the side of secrecy. "Sixteen years of work on this technology and very little has gotten out," says Sweetman. "That is a pretty big margin of secrecy. Now we need a compromise that is more on the open side. At this point keeping the year-by-year costs secret is becoming ridiculous."

That view is beginning to be shared by people inside the Defense Department as well. "The services oppose [the continued secrecy]," says Warren Nelson, a top aide to the House Armed Services Committee. "They want the [stealth bomber] out.... The problem with black programs is that they can't be defended publicly. Critics can make up numbers and throw them around, and all you can say is that they are wrong."

Even pro-Pentagon publications like the *Armed Forces Journal International* have criticized the "self-defeating secrecy" of military programs that can't even be named,

much less bragged about.

If public support for large defense budgets dries up, the Pentagon will have to make a strong case for some black programs that are currently entering the expensive production phases. Aspin, who last year said that close to 70 percent of the black budget could be made public without harm to national security, has suggested that greater accountability and support for black-budget projects could be achieved by having a split system of white costs and black technology. "Information on critical (stealth bomber) system technology is—appropriately—very closely held," argues Aspin. "Essential information on program cost and schedule is—inappropriately—withheld from public view."

Congress may soon make some inroads into slowing the runaway train of secret defense spending. But many on Capitol Hill and elsewhere point out that many black-budget programs initiated under the Reagan admin-

istration will be impossible to stop. Peter Stockton, a staff member of New York Democratic Rep. John Dingell's Oversight and Investigations subcommittee worries that "they're locking us into a funding schedule that we can't backtrack on."

Asked who is to blame, he answers, "The real problem is up here.... There is a lack of will on the part of Congress" to take on the complexities of the defense debate.

Weicker shares this concern: "By allowing the trend toward increasing secrecy in weapons systems to go unchecked, Congress is not exercising its constitutional responsibilities. It is gradually relinquishing them to the executive branch. How can we in good conscience pass laws governing the armed forces if we are unwilling to demand the basic information needed to frame those laws?"

Alisa Joyce is a Washington-based reporter who covers defense and foreign affairs.

Matewan

Continued from page 24

living.' What interested me is how personal psychology gets into politics, and how politics gets into personal psychology."

Parallels today: To some *Matewan* looks like a period piece. For people in West Virginia its drama looks familiar. The town of Matewan continues to be a center of union organizing and company resistance. A strike against the international coal company A.T. Massey is going into its third year, with incidents as starkly gruesome as anything in the film.

Some things change: for instance, companies now use video cameras for surveillance of union organizers and strikers. Some things don't: federal agents recently arrested a private detective, head of security for one of the coal mines, who had put out a contract on a local miner.

Clemmy Allen, now a staffer at UMWA's Washington, D.C., headquarters, was a district organizing director in 1981 and '82. Allen, who saw a New York screening of *Matewan*, says he can't forget the look in Joe Kenenhan's eyes. He thinks anybody who's done organizing would put themselves on screen as Kenenhan faces the challenges of each phase of that drama. Besides, he knows the territory. "Matewan's very close to us, you know," he said. "A whole lot hasn't changed there since the '20s, in terms of how the coal companies would like to treat our people."

"It's an overwhelming film," he said. "We're still fighting, and trying to tell our story, and I think the film might do a lot of that for us—not only with the mineworkers but with people who aren't even union activists. The movie says, 'Don't forget our history—and we still have many miles to go.'"

On Labor Day weekend, Allen is leaving work pleased. The UMWA's general counsel has just walked out of a screening and sent a *Matewan* postcard to the general counsel for the National Labor Relations Board (which in recent years has been particularly prickly toward unions). The message reads, "Happy Labor Day—hope you get a chance to see this movie."

Passion into action: *Matewan* unrolls its story with a mastery that may surprise viewers who have come to expect a rough-hewn, if honest, piece of work from Sayles' independent productions. It carries, however, the Sayles stamp—efficient, unpretentious story-

telling in a personal style, one that assumes viewers will be interested enough to forego genre gambits.

Here the movie bets on our involvement in Joe's problem. Although action—mine blow-ups, shoot-outs and stand-offs—punctuates the film, it builds through the struggle to form a group that can act without self-destructing. Success is never guaranteed, as each new challenge tests old habits, builds new loyalties and breeds new tensions. At the center is the quiet force of Joe Kenenhan, whose watchful eyes tracking the flow of tension mark the channeling of passion into action. (Chris Cooper gives Joe a cool charisma, without histrionics or the aid of heroic scene-setting.)

The tone of the film is both stark and understated, appropriate to the culture of the region and the focus of the drama. It's complemented by a sparing use of soundtrack cues and regional music. Music retells the story of cultural division and gradual unity, as the sounds of the Appalachian, Italian and black American music first compete, then harmonize in the camp. Leading folk musicians contribute to the score, including Hazel Dickens, featured singing in a funeral scene, bluesman John Hammond, Appalachian champion fiddler Gerald Milnes and harmonica recording artist Phil Wiggins.

Luminous look: In other aspects of production Sayles pulled together a remarkable group of talents to turn a film on a \$3-million-plus budget into something that looks like five times that. Haskell Wexler's photography in particular plunges you into a past that seem intensely present. His camerawork rivals his work in *Bound for Glory*. Wexler's powerful and seductive control of light evokes the magical luminosity of the West Virginia hills, the pre-tube glow of miners' homes and the dank terror of the coal mines. Yet the camera work is never manipulative or self-consciously dazzling. Close-ups and intimate scenes register a firm dignity of character without stepping over the line into fond visual affection.

It's only when you leave that you realize how many people you've met in the course of two hours—not just the three-to-five characters that genre pictures allow but a many-faceted community of unpredictable people. Many of the actors are West Virginia residents, whose work blends seamlessly with work by professional actors. Some actors stand out in minor roles, all professionals: Josh Mostel as the pharmacist-mayor, one of the more unlikely heroes to grace an

American picture; Kevin Tighe as the private detective who's a villain but never a cardboard one; David Strathairn as the daredevil police chief. And James Earl Jones as Few Clothes creates a burly hero, determinedly dignified and ingenuous in joy.

Matewan, the movie that Sayles and producer Maggie Renzi have been struggling to make for 10 years, emerges as the film they wanted to make. Completely out of format as an American movie, it's also a thoroughly American drama.

"A lot of what I try to do in this story," Sayles said, "is to have people spend time with people they ordinarily wouldn't spend time with, with history they either forgot or never knew, and have it have some bearing on what's going on today."

"I want people to go to the movie," he said, "but not enough to lie to them. That's the line I walk. I'll write a line in a movie and say, 'I just lost a million dollars.' Basically, I can't afford to think in terms of career. I just have to say, 'Once I start making this movie, it has its own integrity, and I'm working for the movie.' Every movie has been a roll of the dice. So far I've never crapped out."

The gamble's paid off in *Matewan*. It's got the integrity that's bred in the West Virginia hills, and it keeps you in your seat on a Saturday night. It may even help you go on organizing Monday morning.

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CALENDAR

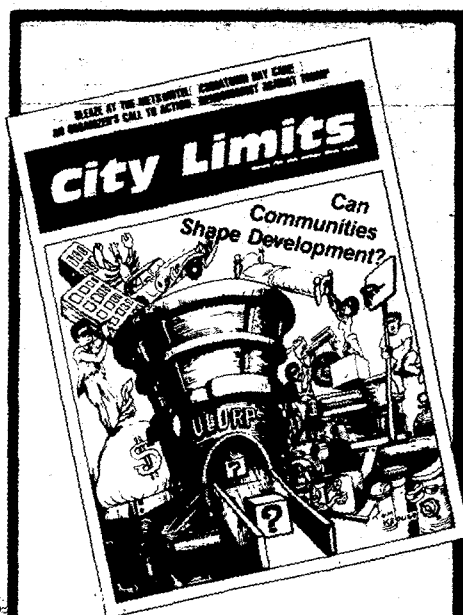
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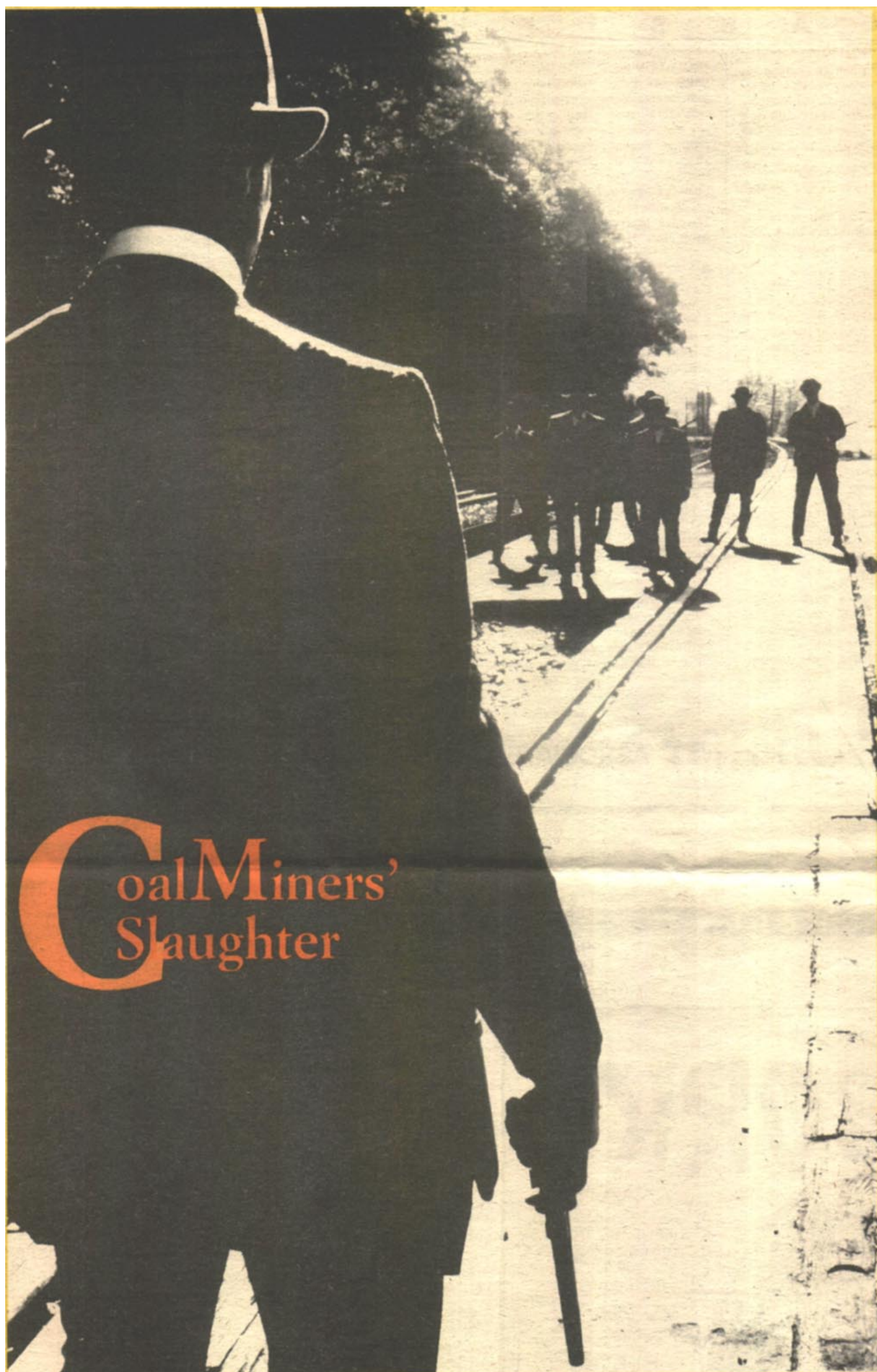
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Coal Miners' Slaughter

A new film by
John Sayles
dramatizes
West Virginia's
Matewan Massacre.

Matewan
Directed by John Sayles

By Pat Aufderheide

"YOU CAN'T MAKE A STRIKE MOVIE." It's Hollywood orthodoxy, and it could have come true in the case of *Matewan*, the latest John Sayles movie. The movie's been in the works for 10 years, rejected by major studios and finally completed with the help of small distributor Cinecom and the clout of its now-well-established independent director (*Return of the Secaucus 7*, *Lianna*, *Brother from Another Planet*), who's also a

MacArthur "genius" grant recipient.

Maybe it's good that Sayles had to wait to make the movie of his dreams, because it's a work of maturity. In fact, it's not a "strike movie," although it surrounds a strike in West Virginia's coal mines in 1920. It features some of the region's legendary figures, and one of the legendary events—the Matewan Massacre. On a stark backdrop of workplace conflict—coal companies against mine workers—it's the struggle of people to work together that drives the action. Working off a melodrama format, Sayles turns the formula inside out.

Into the Appalachian hills, where coal companies had bought up the land and

where clannish local traditions kept people both united and divided, walks Joe Kenehan (Chris Cooper), a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) organizer. (At the time, even other coal companies were pressuring the UMWA to organize West Virginia, where coal operators were cutting prices below unionized coal companies in the West.)

It don't come easy: Trouble comes to him even before he gets to Matewan; locals fight the arriving black workers hired as strikebreakers. He settles in with a mining widow, Elma (Mary McDonnell) and her young preacher-cum-unionist son Danny (Will Oldham). Joe, a staunch pacifist with a Wobbly (IWW) background, has a job to do, and you can see by his eyes as he arrives that he knows it won't be easy. In fact, he knows he's in a life-and-death fight, and he still wants to tackle it without guns.

That doesn't sit well with many of the locals, who know some of the gun-toting private detectives, two of whom (played by Kevin Tighe and Gordon Clapp) soon push Joe out of his boarding house. What also doesn't sit well with many of them is the offer of a black strikebreaker, Few Clothes (James Earl Jones), to join forces with them. Having practiced their hatred of outsiders for generations, they are no friendlier to the blacks than they are to the incoming Italians, also hired as strikebreakers.

Joe has a message: Don't keep pitting white against colored, native against foreign, holler against holler. There's only one division that matters, he says: "You work—they don't." That message is tested in a struggle where miners—locals, blacks, Italians united—walk off the job and take up residence in the only places the coal bosses don't own: tents in the hillsides. Company thugs pick them off at night; hill people protect them by day. Suspicion falls on Joe—who is he really? A "Red"? Or worse—a company plant? The tension builds, as local police chief Sid Hatfield (David Strathairn) stands up to the company thugs.

The Matewan Massacre, in which company detectives faced down armed union men backing up Police Chief Hatfield and Mayor Cabell Testerman (Josh Mostel) is the film's climax, but it doesn't put an end to the story.

Politics and psychology: Sayles knows the film's subject waves red flags in front of the "if you want to send a message, call Western Union" types, but he didn't make a film that divides political conflict from social context.

"Politics are always at the mercy of human nature and custom, and the coal wars of the '20s were so personal that they make ideology accessible in a story, make it immediate and emotional," he explains in press materials. That's what drew him to the drama when he was still a college student, hitchhiking through West Virginia and hearing the coal wars stories-turned-folklore and the equally hair-raising stories of mineworking today.

And he saw a chance, as he told *In These Times*, to tell a story about "bedrock Americans, people so individualistic that they left the wagon train, dug into the hills: bedrock individualism coupled with unthinking patriotism."

"I think this has to do with American character," he said. "I can't count the conversations I've heard all over the country, where people say, 'The damn government is too much in our lives,' and the last thing they say is, 'They have to come in here and regulate prices so a man can make a decent

Continued on page 22